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# Southeast Asia Report

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24 December 1985

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AUSTRALIA

SOCIALIST WRITER DETAILS 'DECLINE' OF POLITICAL LEFT

Sydney THE BULLETIN in English 19 Nov 85 pp 31-33

[Article by Tim Duncan: "Heart-to-Heart Attack of the Left"]

[Text]

"A HARD-headed examination of the Australian political scene in 1985 suggests that the left is now in a very serious state of decline."

Although the left habitually parades its various states of crisis, it is rare to find grim conclusions like this one emerging from the heart of the ALP left in Victoria. Usually the critical thinking is done outside, in the socialist and communist splinter groups. The ALP left generally shoots from the hip and counts the numbers.

But one of the rising stars of the new guard Socialist Left, Lindsay Tanner, has broken with tradition. He has produced a cold critique of the left's bleak prospects which is bearing the brethren some very unpleasant tidings.

Clearly, the strain of holding together the Socialist Left faction while Labor is in government is taking its toll. Meanwhile, the newer generation of factional activists who Tanner represents have been prompted to go back to first principles.

Tanner is not yet 30 years old, but already he is president of the economics policy committee of the Victorian branch and as well a member of the branch's powerful administrative committee. He is trained in law, he has a masters in history, and has worked with

Holding. Redlich and Co, the key Melbourne legal firm which services much of the Victorian Labor movement.

A former editor of the Melbourne University student newspaper, *Farrago*, with years of experience in student, conservationist and machine politics, he works as a backroom researcher for Victorian Senator Barney Cooney. And he is a reliable and personable character to boot. Tanner is one of the very few promising younger talents associated with the Victorian left, so his blunt analysis of the left's general weaknesses is both politically significant as well as timely.

Tanner's view of the left can be summarised as follows: First, the left has lost its ideological drive. The intellectual leadership that the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) once provided Australian socialists has disappeared. Socialist Forum, which emerged from the CPA ashes in Victoria as a vehicle to bring the Eurocommunism of the CPA's Victorian leadership into the ALP left, has failed to replace it. Meanwhile the influence of the CPA has contracted to NSW.

Second, the remaining old left cells are decaying. Socialist sects such as the pro-Soviet Communist Party of Australia, the pro-Chinese CPA (Marxist-Leninist), the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, and the breakaway SPA group the Socialist Activities Committee, are dogged by regular splits and realignments, and in general, are "in disarray and decline." Others, such as the



Workers Against Imperialism group (formerly Maoist inclined communists) are locked in combat on behalf of the Socialist Left old guard with the CPA elements of Socialist Forum. In general the left sect scene is byzantine and completely divorced from the society which hosts it.

Third, the left is impotent. The parliamentary left of the ALP lacks figures of stature at both federal and state levels. Its presence in cabinets tends to be tokenistic, and in any case its contribution in the only state where it can claim to have any influence on government,

Victoria, has served mainly to split the faction, separating machine purists from parliamentary pragmatists.

Fourth, the industrial wing of the left has split over its participation in "the accord." The left has been unable to penetrate the ACTU secretariat, nor even the Trade Union Training Authority. But it has made some gains in the public sector white-collar unions.

Finally, the left is divorced from Australian culture. Out there in barbeque land, "the situation is a good deal more serious. The proportion of the population professing a commitment to socialism is apparently declining. The absence of a unifying, inspirational focus on the left and the increasing fragmentation of left forces have brought things to a point where outright marginalisation looms."

How did it happen? Tanner isolates the left's hidebound conservatism, the fatal weakness which has denied it the chance to define, let alone to seize, its opportunities as the nature of Australian society has changed. "The Victorian Socialist Left is still heavily permeated with an idealised conception of the revolutionary blue-collar worker and a perception of the tertiary educated white-collar employee (who is quite likely to be on lower wages than a builder's laborer or a skilled metalworker) as 'middle-class'."

In other words, the left has been so blinkered by its static picture of nineteenth century class structure that Australia has simply passed it by.

But there are other causes of the left's decline. Tanner points out that the left's general inability to understand the media has kept it in the wake of events, too suspicious of the means of its access to the general population to be able to take advantage of the opportunities that the media can provide it. Similarly, the left's failure to cast off its ancient ideological baggage, such as its commitment to state capitalism and nationalisation, has caused it to drift far from the mainstream. Socialists have thus left both the media and the economic arena to the Labor right and the Liberals, and have become preoccupied with "issues" such as uranium mining or ASIO that divert it yet further from the central themes of economic and social development.

As Tanner sees it, orthodoxy (some of it nakedly self interested) reigns supreme in the left.

It blindly defends the welfare state, ignoring the public's dissatisfaction with the inefficiencies and rigidities of bureaucratic behaviour. At the same time, he says, the left is unwilling to confront the reality that its own tertiary educated activists have got onto the welfare "gravy train," grabbing job-creation money for their own pet projects.

In Tanner's view the Australian left has lost its sense of "moral community." It is obsessed with "dangers," of threats of nuclear war, catastrophic unemployment and ecological disaster. Obsessions like these are hardly attractive and so it is no surprise that the population does not turn to the left for an optimistic vision of a just future; the left simply does not have one.

The result is not just a contracting base of support but also an extraordinary incompetence in basic policy making. "A great deal of economic policy formulation within the left seems to proceed under the assumption that larger budget deficits are intrinsically socialist, that protectionism is a foundation stone of socialism, and that regulation is the key mechanism of transformation from capitalism to socialism. The primary reason for this problem is the low level of theoretical debate within the left."

Surprisingly, Tanner concludes with a section titled "grounds for optimism." There are opportunities for the revival of the left, he thinks, and the

clues to exploiting them lie with the concerns of the Australian middle-class as reflected by the increasingly "progressive" stances of the white-collar unions, migrant groups, women, church groups and welfare organisations on one hand, and on the other, following British experience, with local government. Tanner also sees some signs pointing towards left unity through the convergence of peace and socialist groups.

As for the way ahead, Tanner thinks that the onus is on the left to create within itself a "dramatic change of consciousness," based on a revival of optimism, idealism and moral commitment.

He is less clear on the future for the left should such a change in thinking fail to come about. But reading between the lines the alternatives seem to be increasing irrelevance or a move towards the ALP centre. In neither of these scenarios is it likely that the left will survive. □

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CSO: 4200/347

AUSTRALIA

MELBOURNE DAILY LAUDS HAWKE BUSINESS DEREGULATION

Melbourne THE AGE in English 5 Nov 85 p 13

[Editorial: "Fewer Controls Are Welcome"]

[Text]

WHILE the Opposition talks promisingly about business deregulation, the Hawke Government is putting it into effect. Slowly and cautiously, to be sure, but the movement is in the right direction. The Prime Minister, in a recent address to the Business Council of Australia, announced a liberalisation of foreign investment guidelines and a further relaxation of controls over the financial sector. More significantly, perhaps, Mr Hawke also foreshadowed a study to see how much

more red tape could be appropriately unravelled. The main change is the abolition of the "opportunities test" which required foreign companies planning acquisitions or takeovers in Australia to give Australians the option of getting in first. The thresholds at which foreign investment proposals must come under scrutiny have been raised, foreign investment in merchant banks will continue to be free from restraint, and a number of other controls will be simplified, streamlined or removed.

The Prime Minister had little difficulty in justifying these initiatives; indeed, he conceded that the Business Council would have wished the Government to move faster and further. He noted that the opportunities test had done little to stimulate Australian investment while discouraging economically useful foreign investment. The balance between attracting beneficial foreign investment and ensuring that Australians receive a fair share of the resultant economic growth is not easily achieved. But, as the Government has recognised despite Labor's traditional prejudices, arbitrary and rigid controls can be counter-productive. Continued monitoring of foreign investment is desirable to ensure that it conforms to the national interest, but needless regulations should continue to be dismantled.

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AUSTRALIA

WEEKLY ON KEATING'S CHANGE IN ECONOMIC COURSE

Broadway THE NATIONAL TIMES in English 15-21 Nov 85 p 4

[Article by Geoff Kitney: "Deflation or Jobs: Keating in a Cleft Stick"]

[Text]

**W**HEN Federal Cabinet was putting together the August Budget there was hardly any dissent about the strong growth strategy being proposed by Treasurer Paul Keating, with one interesting exception.

Foreign Minister Bill Hayden asked Keating a number of questions about the likely rate of economic growth for the year ahead. It was clear from the questions he was asking that Hayden was somewhat uneasy about the prospect of the economy overheating.

Although he didn't advocate it directly, Hayden queried whether it might be necessary to cool the economy down a bit, to deflate.

Keating had answers for Hayden's questions and unbridled confidence about the prospects for sustainable strong growth without renewed high inflation. Cabinet backed Keating and he publicly displayed his confidence on the day after the Budget when he said that the Government had set its sails for growth and everyone should hang on.

But this week Keating began trimming the sails. He set a new course for slower growth.

Higher interest rates and tighter money were embraced as an emergency response to an alarming deterioration in the economic outlook. This deterioration has the potential to threaten the Hawke Government's survival.

Paul Keating, a few months ago relaxed and confident that he had set the Government comfortably on the road to re-election to an historic third term, is now quite concerned about what is happening to the economy and faces a nerve wracking period of delicate adjustments to economic policy to keep the economic and political strategy viable.

With some subtle changes of emphasis from Budget time, Keating declared on Tuesday that the Government was not pursuing the maximum possible growth rate. Instead, what it wanted was a "sustainable" high rate of growth.

The difference between the two is significant and is already being felt painfully in the community by people who are borrowing money.

The strategy which Keating is now pursuing and which Federal Cabinet endorsed with some trepidation on Wednesday is to take some of the growth off the top of the economy by making credit too expensive for some borrowers.

The Cabinet meeting, called to approve a sharp increase in the Australian Savings Bond rate, heard a frank report from Keating about the problems that are being caused by the serious distortions in the balance of payments.

He told Cabinet that the fall in the value of the Australian dollar was not contributing to an improvement in the balance of payments as strongly or as quickly as he had hoped because strong domestic demand was still "sucking in" imports at a high level.

He indicated that domestic demand, which was forecast in the Budget to grow in real terms by 3 per cent in 1985-86, was in fact growing at around 5 per cent. This had pushed the overall rate of economic growth well above the Budget forecast of around 5 per cent.

Keating said that one way of reacting to these faster-than-expected rates of growth was to adopt the course being urged by "the deflationists" in the business and financial communities who wanted to squeeze inflation out of the economy by clamping down strongly on growth.

But he said the price of that policy would be a return to higher unemployment levels.

He said that as far as he was concerned the single most important achievement of the Labor Government was its success in reducing unemployment and this should continue to be the key objective.

Keating indicated that his strategy for dealing with the problem of overheated domestic demand was to tighten both the money supply and interest rates.

The aim is to slow down domestic demand so that there is a resulting reduction in imports and therefore a healthy improvement in the very sick balance of payments. This should increase confidence in the Australian dollar and lift its value back to the level forecast in the Budget, which would still allow a relatively healthy economic growth rate through 1986 and beyond.

There was no opposition in Cabinet to the Keating strategy but there were some furrowed brows and several ministers indicated that they were very concerned about the economic difficulties the Government now faces.

They see some real dangers in trying to make policy settings aimed at just shaving enough off the top of the growth rate to slow down the demand for imports.

The risk, which Keating concedes, is that the squeeze on credit (the effect of which will be difficult to judge because of the lag between adjustment and effect) could be too severe and that it will knock the stuffing out of investment. That would slash growth and reduce employment.

The key objective of 500,000 new jobs in the first three years of the Hawke Government, now so tantalisingly close, could suddenly recede and the level of unemployment could begin to rise again.

This concern was echoed in the Labor Caucus on Tuesday when John Langmore, who worked for Keating as an adviser in the early days of the Hawke Government, and left-wing MP Peter Baldwin questioned Keating and Hawke about the dollar crisis.

The point they made in their questions was that instead of lifting interest rates and risking a serious reduction in economic activity the Government should be willing to consider using the money it holds in foreign reserves to go into the market and defend the dollar and lift its value.

Langmore and Baldwin had put a similar proposition at a meeting of the Caucus economics committee a month ago. Keating attended that meeting and rejected the proposition out of hand.

At Tuesday's meeting, he was blunter. "I'm getting sick of this bullshit," he said.

Both Keating and Hawke repeated what they have said previously about intervening: the dollar had been floated and a float is a float. Intervention by the Government to affect the market was out of the question.

The questions at the Caucus meeting were symptomatic of a growing uneasiness among Government MPs about the insipid dollar and particularly the electoral impact of high interest rates.

Although many financial institutions ease the burden of rising interest rates on home buyers by extending the term of their loans rather than lifting the repayments, MPs are finding growing hostility in their electorates to the interest-rate hikes.

The level of tension on the Government benches might have been higher had the Opposition been able to mount an effective political offensive over the problems of the SA.

The Opposition's difficulties will, however, become quickly irrelevant if the Keating strategy for solving those problems does not work.

If the tightening of credit does impact on the balance of payments substantially by the early months of 1986 and the dollar slips lower, the Hawke Government will face a very dangerous crisis.

Keating believes that in those circumstances, to prevent the price effects of another major devaluation feeding into the economy through wages, another round of discounting would be necessary. Union agreement to that would be difficult if not impossible to achieve.

The unions would argue strongly that they have already given up a lot and that they should not be expected to give any more.

Figures given in Parliament this week by Employment and Industrial Relations Minister Ralph Willis indicate that, despite claims that Australia's weak dollar is largely due to concern about the level of wages, there has been real moderation during the period of the Hawke Government.

The average annual rate of growth of award wages over the three calendar years 1983 to 1985 is about 5.25 per cent (including the latest national wage rise) compared with 11.5 per cent in the last three years of the Fraser Government. Real unit labour costs have fallen nearly 10 per cent since 1982-83.

But despite these figures Cabinet would almost certainly support the case for discounting for further devaluation-caused price increases.

This would leave the Government with the unpalatable options of abandoning the accord and resorting to arguing before the Arbitration Commission to discount wages despite union objections or, more dramatically, to resort to a new wages freeze.

**AUSTRALIA**

**WAGE DECISION CUTS VALUE OF DOLLAR**

North Richmond THE LAND in English 7 Nov 85 p 3

[Article by Andrew Heap and Rod Metcalfe]

[Text]

THE financial markets have taken quick judgment of this week's national wage decision and have sold the Australian dollar down to near record low rates against the United States currency.

In trade-weighted terms the dollar has fallen to its lowest point being valued at 62¢ against the currencies of our major trading partners — down five per cent in the past week.

The fall was much more significant against some individual currencies, notably the Japanese Yen.

Theoretically the rural sector benefits from a weaker Australian dollar in that export receipts are boosted.

In practice such are the marketing structures operating in Australia that these benefits can take months or years to filter back to the farmer if at all.

Leaving aside reductions in world prices which are clearly bearing down on farm returns, rough estimates of a falling dollar mean that for every one cent drop against the US dollar, export receipts go up \$100 million but costs increase \$40 million.

This is particularly the case with wheat industry where the cost increases are felt well before the benefits.

Another problem for the farmer is that the volatility of the Australian dollar does not help in the planning of production decisions while it can also disguise the true state of the world commodity market.

Therefore careful attention needs to be given to the effect of higher interest rates on cash flow and debt implications for farmers who are sound business managers in the short term as the government attempts to bring the Australian dollar back into line.

The fall in the Australian dollar this week appears to break a deadlock which has existed since June where the Australian dollar traded within a very small range of US 68-72 cents.

Up until this week as the US dollar fell, the Australian dollar went down with it.

However, the breaking of the resistance by the Australian dollar against the US dollar stems from a lack of confidence on the part of importers, exporters and overseas investors due to several unfavorable economic indicators within the Australian economy.

Of particular concern has been that inflation has risen to 7.6 per cent and is forecast to go higher and that the current account deficit will continue to blow out.

This week's wage decision granting the full Consumer Price Index flow-on of 3.8pc despite the existence of a 1.2pc devaluation effect which should have been discounted, has given the final downward push to the dollar.

The government had been hoping that the promise of a 2.0pc discount effect to be presented at the next national wage case hearing would prevent any further fall.

The danger for the government and the economy now is that the market may start to ignore the fundamentals and continue to vote on the dollar by speculation and mood.

AUSTRALIA

WAGE DECISIONS INCREASE FARMING COSTS

North Richmond THE LAND in English 7 Nov 85 p 3

[Article by Rod Metcalfe, Rural Press News Bureau]

[Text]

FARMERS will have to pay about \$14 a week extra for farm workers following two wage decisions handed down by the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission in Melbourne in the past week.

Shearing rates have risen by \$6.02 to \$106.89 per 100 as a result of the two decisions.

As well there are also expected to be significant rises in on-costs likely to be paid by farmers as other sectors of industry hit by higher wage bills attempt to recoup the extra cost.

Farmers will also be hit with a hefty back pay bill as the 2.6 per cent of the increase is retrospective until April 8, 1985 for employees under the Pastoral Industry Award.

The two decisions relate to the national wage case hearings this year that granted pay rises to farm workers of 2.6pc and 3.8pc.

The 2.6pc increase granted late last week by the commission flowed from an attempt by the National Farmers Federation to have the April national wage case decision not passed on to the Pastoral Industry Award.

The NFF opposed the automatic flow-on on the grounds of the industry's inability to pay.

Last week's decision was compounded this week when the full bench of the commission handed down the full 3.8pc wage increase

sought by the Australian Council of Trade Unions under indexation guidelines.

The NFF has reacted strongly to both decisions, claiming they overlook economic rationality and do nothing to address the problem of Australia living beyond its means.

Economist with the NFF, Dr Rob Campbell, said it was particularly disturbing that in its report into the 3.8pc decision, the commission did not mention the rural sector and only barely mentioned the export sector.

However, NFF industrial officer, Mr Paul Houlihan, said the adverse response to the latest decision from the rural industry and other employer organisations provided some encouragement for the future.

Mr Houlihan said the Confederation of Australian Industry was now making noises of pulling out of the system, which could lead to its eventual breakdown.

He said the NFF would probably not be opposing the flow-on of the 3.8pc decision in light of the commission's response to the earlier application.

"The decision has also got to be

seen against the background of rural unemployment rates of 25pc and where studies have shown that for every increase in wages in the farm sector there is an equal increase in unemployment," Mr Houlihan said.

However, the back-dated decision could create enormous legal and financial problems of employers of labor under the pastoral industry award, particularly contractors.

According to Mr Houlihan, most contracts entered into and finalised between April and the handing down of the 2.6pc flow on decision, had been determined at the old rate of pay under the award.

"Now with backdating, the contractor will have to pay the men the higher rate with no scope for recovery of the cost," he said.

Grazeos shearing manager, Mr Brian Clark, said his company would now have to go through its books and submit claims to woolgrowers for recovery of the extra cost.

Mr Clark said the back-dating decision would cost his company somewhere in the order of \$80,000 to \$100,000 in wages which would have to be recovered from around 400-500 woolgrowers.

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CSO: 4200/347

INDONESIA

GOLKAR STATEMENT ON GENERAL ELECTIONS, ECONOMY

Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 21 Oct 85 p A 1

[Text] Jakarta, 21 Oct (ANTARA)--Golkar, the ruling functional group, on its 21st anniversary Sunday night issued a Political Declaration which was the result of deliberations in its National Working Conference held in the capital 17-19 October.

The declaration said that the success of the General National Election to be held in Indonesia in 1987 would be measured on three criteria. First the election should be carried out in peace and in an orderly way and in strict accordance with the law--meaning it should be direct, universal, free and secret.

Second, it should be participated in with full consciousness by as many voters as possible. The election in 1987 should be participated in by at least as many voters as the past election in 1982.

Third, the election should guarantee the continuity and stepping up of national development as the implementation of Pancasila with victory in the hands of the New Order.

In connection with the election, Golkar's aim is to enhance the quality of political life to make it ever-fresh, stable and dynamical in line with the family spirit conceived in Pancasila and the UUD 1945 constitution.

The declaration said the challenge of political development in the future is to make Pancasila an operational ideology capable of answering complex challenges.

On the economy, Golkar supports the efforts of the government to eliminate structural obstructions and excessive bureaucracy which had caused a high-cost economy in the country.

Golkar also supports President Soeharto's call which asked the nation to start thinking about the basic ideas and aims of the second phase of the nation's long-term development (covering the Vth up to the Xth five-year national development plans).



The establishment of the basic outlined of these future plans will facilitate the regeneration process of the nation, guaranteeing that the national development will continue, always renewed and stepped up.

On the international situation, Golkar declared its deep concern about prevailing discrimination and protectionism in the world economy, armed conflicts among nations in many regions of the globe and stagnation in the North-South dialogue.

In this regard, Golkar supports the policies which the Indonesian government has adopted.

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INDONESIA

DELEGATIONS' VISITS TO USSR LEAD TO INCREASED TRADE

Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 22 Oct 85 p A 7

[Text] Jakarta, 22 Oct (ANTARA)--The visits of KADIN Indonesia (Indonesian chamber of commerce and industry) to the Soviet Union as well as of Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja and of the Coordinating Minister for Economic, Financial and Industrial Affairs and Development Supervision Ali Wardhana were instrumental in raising the volume of trade between the Soviet Union and Indonesia by about 25 percent, Soviet Ambassador to Indonesia Semivolos pointed out at his meeting with KADIN Indonesia's General Chairman Sukamdani S. Gitosardjono here Monday.

The Ambassador said that the greater part of Indonesia's exports to the Soviet Union covered non-oil/non-gas commodities, such as rubber and coffee. The trade relations between the two countries could be stepped up thanks to the better understanding between Indonesia and the Soviet Union.

Ambassador Semovolos also discussed plans to hold an exhibition of Soviet industrial products in Indonesia and on the other hand an exhibition of Indonesian industrial commodities in the Soviet Union.

The exhibitions will be held in the framework of cooperation between KADIN Indonesia and the Soviet chamber of commerce and industry, which had been signed in Moscow last year.

The cooperation also includes the promotion of both countries' respective goods in Indonesia and in the Soviet Union.

Invitation to Soviet Chamber of Commerce

Sukamdani at the meeting also conveyed an Invitation of KADIN Indonesia to the general chairman of the Soviet chamber of commerce to visit Indonesia to see from close quarters the economic development in Indonesia.

The visit of the Soviet chamber of commerce is expected to take place in March or April 1986, Sukamdani said.

The Soviet ambassador also informed about the coming visit of a Soviet Union delegation led by Soviet Union Deputy Prime Minister Jakov Petrovich Ryabov, accompanied by Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade J. Grishin and Deputy I of the committee of Foreign Economic Relations Kachanov.

INDONESIA

TRADE DEFICITS WITH INDIA

Jakarta BUSINESS NEWS in English 11 Oct 85 p 6

[Text] The balance of trade between India and Indonesia has shown deficits for the latter in the past ten years, except in 1980, when Indonesia recorded a surplus of US\$.2,559.343.

The cumulative deficit Indonesia has sustained in bilateral trade with India in the past ten years amounted to over US\$742.85 million. The balance of trade between Indonesia and India in the 1975-1984 period, according to statistical data obtained from BPS (Central Bureau of Statistics), is as follows:

Year	Indonesia's Exports		Indonesia's Imports		Balance for Indon. (US\$)
	Volume (M.Ton)	FOB Value (US\$)	Volume (M.Ton)	CIF Value (US\$)	
1975	28,071	12,622,000	117,964	40,939,000	- 28,317,000
1976	13,157	4,247,049	519,381	122,885,296	- 118,638,247
1977	99,126	27,547,276	190,613	83,002,119	- 55,454,843
1978	142,692	31,398,745	271,431	111,913,637	- 80,504,892
1979	55,899	17,740,358	230,722	125,585,175	- 107,844,817
1980	301,837	45,797,034	54,239	43,237,691	+ 2,559,343
1981	215,296	22,611,611	78,539	79,932,373	- 57,320,762
1982	75,885	8,165,582	390,054	225,570,891	- 217,405,309
1983	64,035	9,688,549	53,449	55,131,737	- 45,443,188
1984	139,279	26,523,012	23,607	58,449,277	- 31,926,215
Cumulative deficit in the past ten years					- 742,855,273

Viewed from commodities involved in bilateral trade, Indonesia's exports to India the past ten years have expanded from 12 kinds of commodities worth US\$12 million in 1975 to 31 kinds of commodities valued at US\$26 million in 1984.

The package of exports from Indonesia to that South Asian state in 1970's consisted of mainly traditional commodities, such as essential oil, processed timber and machinery spareparts. But in the past several years, Indonesia's exports to that country have also included other commodities, such as palmoil products, gum, turpentine, glycerol, cashewnut, betelnut, animal hides, sponge iron, components of bicycles and motorcycles, and printed materials.

But in the same period, from 1975 to 1984, Indonesia's imports from India increased drastically from 90 kinds of goods worth US\$40 million to 115 kinds of commodities worth US\$60 million. The import value even reached US\$125 million in 1979 and US\$225 million in 1982.

The supply of goods from India to Indonesia consists of among others animal feeds, cotton, vegetables, dye stuffs, synthetic rubber, plastic material, spices, chemicals, rubber products, textile yarn, paper, glassware, construction materials, power generators, compressor pumps, heater/cooler apparatuses, electric appliances and many other industrial products.

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CSO: 4200/345

INDONESIA

EXPORT OF COAL TO DPRK POSTPONED

Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 21 Oct 85 p A 3

[Text] Jakarta, 21 Oct (ANTARA)--Indonesia's export of rubber to North Korea has been postponed in view of North Korea's failure to fulfill its obligation.

Executive Director of the Indonesian Rubber Exporters Association (Gapkindo) Ir. Harry Tanugraha said that Indonesia in July 1984 exported 10,000 tons natural rubber worth US\$9.64 million to North Korea.

This export was the first made to North Korea in the framework of expanding export of Indonesia's natural rubber. But the North Korean had failed to fulfill its obligation to pay for the rubber in due time.

Harry said that Gapkindo involves ten rubber processing plants and four state-run banks in its export drive to North Korea.

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CSO: 4200/345

INDONESIA

50,000 TONS OF STEEL WIRE TO BE EXPORTED TO PRC

Jakarta BUSINESS NEWS in English 11 Oct 85 p 3

[Text] Indonesia will export 50,000 tons of steel wire worth over US\$14 million (FOB) to China this year. The transaction for the supply of steel wire to China has been made through a U.S. company, but the commodity is shipped directly from Merak to China, President Director of PT Krakatau Steel Ir. Aribowo has stated.

Speaking before reporters after meeting with President Soeharto at Bina Graha here Thursday, the Krakatau Steel president director explained further that the contract for the supply of 50,000 tons of steel wire to the populous country was signed in January 1985.

Besides exporting steel wire to China, PT Krakatau Steel has also selling its products to Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan, the United States, Britain, Japan and India, according to Ir. Aribowo. [sentence as published]

The exports of Krakatau Steel's products are expected to be worth US\$30.8 million till December 1985, or around 10 percent of the total income of the company from the sale of its products, Ir. Aribowo added.

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CSO: 4200/345

INDONESIA

MINISTER DESCRIBES 'PROBLEMS' CREATED BY RICE SURPLUS

Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 22 Oct 85 p A 12

[Text] Palangka Raya, 22 Oct (ANTARA)--Indonesia will suffer a loss of around 50 percent if it exports rice to overseas markets where the price is declining sharply, Junior Minister for the Increase of Food Production Wardoyo has said.

Addressing a coordinating meeting of the Central Kalimantan agricultural mass guidance advisory board and work-units here Monday, he said Indonesia now is capable of exporting rice due to its achievement in self-sufficiency.

The junior minister pointed out that Indonesia, formerly known as the biggest rice importer in the world that absorbed some two million tons from the overseas production, has been successful in attaining rice self-sufficiency, thanks to the national agricultural development.

The rice surplus nevertheless now brings in a new unprecedented problem on technical matters, particularly concerning rice storage and its preservation. The rice stock held by the national logistics board and its regional depots has now reached approximately 3.5 million tons.

According to the junior minister, the preservation expenses alone have cost more than Rp 11 billion in interest every month.

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CSO: 4200/345

# COUNTRY SELF-SUFFICIENT IN UREA FERTILIZER

Jakarta BUSINESS NEWS in English 11 Oct 85 p 4

[Text] The supply of urea fertilizer from fertilizer plants in the country will be able to fulfill the domestic demand for this product in the next two to three years, according to Chairman of the Indonesian Association of Fertilizer Producers (API) Ir. A. Salmon Mustafa.

Ir. Salmon, who is also president director of PT Pupuk Kujang, stated when he received a group of House Commission VI recently that the excessive production of urea in the country was estimated to result in a surplus of about 600,000 tons in the domestic supply of this fertilizer.

To cope with the oversupply of urea, the government is currently making efforts to increase urea exports. For the purpose, the government has explored the possibility of exporting urea to China, since the demand for urea in that populous country keeps on increasing.

The price of urea on the international market decreases at the present time. It has dropped to less than US\$.100/ton at present from US\$150/ton previously, according to the API chairman. He also disclosed on the occasion that two more fertilizer plants were planned to be built outside Java before the end of the current Pelita IV (fourth five-year development plan).

The two fertilizer plants scheduled to be set up outside Java consist of Pupuk Kaltim III in East Kalimantan and PUS RI IB. To intensify the utilization of natural gas in the fertilizer industry, the government has decided to build many more fertilizer plants outside Java.

The production of urea by PT Pupuk Kujang, which is located in West Java, dropped from 554,733.375 tons in 1980 to 528,460.475 tons in 1981, declined again to 515,401,700 tons in 1982, jumped to 578,310,700 tons in 1983 and slightly decreased to 570,000 tons last year. It reached 248.140 tons in the first seven months of this year.

The installed capacity of Pupuk Kujang fertilizer plant for the production of urea is 570,000 tons and the urea production by the plant is estimated to reach only about 81 percent of the designed capacity this year, because the repair of processing machines to be carried out this year will interrupt the the operation of the plant for six working days. [sentence as published]

The flow of fertilizer from the warehouses of PT Pupuk Kujang has run unsmoothly in the past two months, for most fertilizer warehouses in distribution areas have been full and no longer been able to accommodate fertilizer supply. Around 28,000 tons of urea is still available in Pupuk Kujang's warehouses.



INDONESIA

SOYBEAN, CORN SELF-SUFFICIENCY PROGRAM ANNOUNCED

Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 21 Oct 85 p A 3

[Text] Jambi, 20 Oct (ANTARA)--Junior Minister for Development of Food Products Wardoyo has announced the implementation of the trans-Sumatra soya-bean and maize plantation programs here to meet the hope that Indonesia will no longer import the two commodities in 1986.

The minister when making the announcement on a special soya-bean and maize plantation on dried land in Pemenang village, Sarolangun Bangko regency, about 270 km from here Saturday said that Indonesia was able to meet its soya-bean and maize needs.

He said that based on its rice production surplus, Indonesia must also be able to be self-sufficient in soya-bean and maize in the near future.

Wardoyo pointed out that in 1984 Indonesia imported 400 thousand tonnes of soya-bean worth U.S.\$130 million to meet domestic consumption although it actually could produce the commodity to meet its demand.

To meet the demand, soya-bean and maize will be planted on acid producing land after subjected to calcifying.

Land calcification program through land conservation in Sumatra has been carried out in Lampung, Bengkulu, Riau, West Sumatra, North Sumatra and Jambi.

Soya-bean plantation in Jambi will be opened in January-March 1986 on 9,663 ha of land and 1,918 ha for maize plantation.

Wardoyo explained that the next stage of the soya-bean and maize plantation project would be launched through intensification and extensivication programs.

The extensivication of soya-bean plantation will also be carried out in the central and western parts of Indonesia, he added.

The minister said that the government would provide credits to soya-bean and maize farmers through the Bank Rakyat Indonesia.

The special soya-bean and maize plantation program is expected to meet domestic consumption and to improve the welfare of the farmers, the minister said.

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CSO: 4200/345

INDONESIA

PARTICIPATION IN COMING BEIJING FAIR REPORTED

Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 22 Oct 85 p A 5

[Text] Jakarta, 22 Oct (ANTARA)--The China Committee of KADIN Indonesia (Indonesian chamber of commerce and industry) is at present making preparations for the departure of Indonesian entrepreneurs who will take part in the Beijing Fair (ASPAT 1985) in Beijing November 15 through 30 to introduce various export commodities, the China Committee executive chairman of KADIN Indonesia H. M. Taha, pointed out here Monday. Through Indonesia's participation in the Beijing Fair, the People's Republic of China (PRC) will have a better understanding of Indonesia's capability in exporting its commodities, he said.

During the last 20 years the trade relations between the two countries which had been broken off, had been carried out through third countries, until their restoration on July 5, 1985.

KADIN Indonesia General Chairman Sukamdani S. Gitosardjono had stated to the chairman of CCPIT (PRC international trade promotion agency) when the KADIN Indonesia trade delegation visited Beijing July through August as well as when the PRC trade delegation visited Jakarta in mid-August, that KADIN Indonesia welcomed the invitation to send a group of entrepreneurs to take part in the Beijing Fair.

The China Committee of KADIN Indonesia had suggested to private as well as state enterprises to use the Beijing Fair to display their products, mainly of commodities which have access into the potential PRC market.

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CSO: 4200/345

INDONESIA

BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION ON INDONESIAN PERSONALITIES

[Unless otherwise noted, the following information on Indonesian personalities has been extracted from Indonesian language sources published in Jakarta.]

DR H. BADARUDDIN JUSUF--Minister of Home Affairs Soepardjo Roestam installed Dr H. Badaruddin Jusuf in office as deputy governor of Riau Province at a ceremony held at the Department of Home Affairs on 17 September. Doctor Badaruddin had previously been secretary of the Riau provincial government. The deputy governor of Riau was born in the province at Tempuling, Indragiri Hilir Regency, on 26 July 1932. For 12 years (from 1967 to 1979) he was regent of Indragiri Hilir. In that position he was successful in raising the regency to a high level, winning for it the highest state decoration, the Parasamya Purna Karya Nugraha, at the end of the First 5-Year Plan. For his services to the nation Doctor Badaruddin was awarded the Satya Lencana Pembangunan in accordance with the president's Letter of Decision No 038/PK/76 of 3 August 1976. [Excerpts] [Jakarta HARIAN UMUM AB in Indonesian 14 Sep 85 pp 1, 3] 5170

YAHYA UBEID--Master of Laws Yahya Ubeid, former secretary general of the Central Executive Council of the Development Unity Party, died on 26 September at Tjipto Mangunkusumo Hospital after having been treated since May 1985 for diabetes. Since 1962 the deceased had been general chairman of the Ansor Youth Movement. In 1971, due to this position, he was appointed secretary general of the Executive Committee of the NU [Nahdatul Ulama--Muslim Scholars]. In 1973 he was appointed secretary general of the Central Executive Council of the PPP [Development Unity Party], serving in this position until the First National Congress of the PPP in 1984. The last position he held was in the leadership of the Development Unity Faction in Parliament. The deceased served as a teacher in the SMEA [Commercial High School] in Bandung from 1953 to 1957. He obtained his law degree from Pajajaran University in 1958 at the same time as Mochtar Kusumaatmaja, who is now minister of foreign affairs. The deceased was buried in Tanah Kusir Cemetery on 26 September. [Text] [Jakarta SINAR HARAHAP in Indonesian 26 Sep 85 p 12] 5170

COL (RETIRED) HUHNHOLZ--Retired Marine Corps Colonel H. H. W. Huhnholz, 67 years old, died last week after his third heart attack. Bill Huhnholz, as the deceased was called by his friends, at the time of his death was still teaching at the Navy Staff and Command School. He had previously served as a

communications attache in Tokyo. He had been a chief instructor at Marine Corps Headquarters in Surabaya, had commanded the Navy Institute, and had served as chief of staff at Marine Corps Headquarters. It is not surprising that, as one of his friends said: "The Marine Corps deeply feels the loss of a professional training officer." The deceased, who was a Catholic, was buried at a military ceremony on 27 September at Tanah Kusir Cemetery in Jakarta. [Text] [Jakarta TEMPO in Indonesian 28 Sep 85 p 76] 5170

HAJI IMAM MUNANDAR--Acting Minister of Home Affairs S. Poniman, in the name of the president, installed Haji Imam Munandar in office as governor of Riau Province for his second term of office in this position (1985-1990), at a plenary session of the Riau Provincial Council in Pekanbaru on 3 October. There were three candidates for the position of governor of Riau for the period 1985-1990 in the elections held at a plenary session of the provincial council on 2 September: Imam Munandar, who received 17 votes; Haji Abdul Rachman Hamid, who received one vote; and Dr Haji Ismail Suko, who received 19 votes. On 6 September 1985 Ismail Suko withdrew his name as candidate governor of Riau, and finally, in a letter of decision dated 12 September 1985 (No 177/M/1985), the president appointed Imam Munandar governor of Riau. Haji Imam Munandar was born in Blitar (East Java) on 15 June 1927. He is the son of Raden Tjitno Prawiro. On 12 March 1952 he married the late Sri Moedjinab. They had six children, the eldest of whom is now 31 years old, while the youngest is 16. Three of his children hold master's degrees. He graduated from a technical high school in 1951. He attended the special course for senior officers at the Management Institute of the Department of Defense and Security in 1974. His career in the Army began in 1945 when he held the rank of second lieutenant. His first post was that of commander of Platoon 1/2/b in Blitar. His final position in the Army prior to retirement was that of deputy commander of Defense Area I (Sumatra and West Kalimantan). He was a major general and held 15 service ribbons and stars. He was appointed governor of Riau on 2 October 1980 for his first term, replacing Governor Subrantas, who had died. [Excerpt] [Jakarta PELITA in Indonesian 4 Oct 85 pp 1, 4] 5170

MAJ GEN SUDHARMO--Maj Gen (Retired) Sudharmo Djajadiwangsa, former Indonesian ambassador to Sri Lanka, 62 years of age, died on 6 October in Semarang. He had served as commander of Military Region XII/Tanjung Pura in West Kalimantan, as director general of PMD [Village Community Development], and inspector general of the Department of Home Affairs. [Excerpt] [Jakarta TEMPO in Indonesian 12 Oct 85 p 15] 5170

MAJ GEN SIAHAAN--Maj Gen (Retired) Ricardo Manik Julius Siahaan, 61 years of age, died on 1 October at Gatot Subroto Central Army Hospital in Jakarta after being treated for a heart attack. The deceased left a wife and six children. He had served as military attache in Yugoslavia and was then inspector general of the Army. Before becoming a member of Parliament he was assigned to the staff of the Department of Defense and Security. [Excerpts] [Jakarta TEMPO in Indonesian 12 Oct 85 p 15] 5170

CSO: 4213/39

LAOS

'TALK' CITES THAI DISSIDENTS ON CAMBODIA POLICY

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 31 Aug 85 pp 3, 4

[Text] It is widely known that world opinion is presently talking about the Cambodia issue: who is in control of the lives of the Cambodian people? All the allies of the Khmer Rouge, especially their expansionist and hegemonist ringleaders are exerting their efforts to propagandize and turn black into white to deceive the world's eyes. But every step of their actions has not been successful at all because the world knows the habits of these expansionists and hegemonists very well; the Khmer Rouge's past has left an eternal, lasting horrible scene. The persons in power in Thailand, who presumably have been supporting the Khmer Rouge to the fullest, are facing obstacles from progressive Thais who absolutely refuse to allow the people of Thailand to continue their naive actions. Recently, the Coordination Commission for Democracy in Thailand appealed to the Thai government concerning the consequences of the Thai-Cambodian border war. The appeal pointed out that, "If the government continues to carry out attacks along the Thai-Cambodian border, it will push Thailand toward a war, which will destroy the economy."

Prof Somchai Rakvichit, who is the chairman of the Coordination Commission for Democracy in Thailand, expressed his opinion about the problem of the war along the Thai-Cambodian border: "If the Thai government drags out the border war and allows the expansionists and hegemonists to use Thai soil to cause trouble for the people of Cambodia, it will have a heavy military burden; at that time, finances will move into the negative side."

The Thai newspaper MATICHON in its 27 April 1985 issue had an article about an intellectual who said that, "In the name of the people of Thailand, we want to warn the government that it should get away from the Cambodia and Indochina problems. The government should negotiate with Vietnam as soon as possible. If the government continues to support the Khmer Rouge, it will only lead to destruction. If the government wants to preserve the security of Thailand, it must get away from these problems promptly." BBC Radio of England broadcasted on 10 July that, "Those who cooperate with the Khmer Rouge are troublemakers, because the Khmer Rouge has a rotten background. Europeans are sick and tired and despise these problems."

The peoples of Africa and Latin America have unanimously stated that all the sanctuaries of the Khmer Rouge should be destroyed and aid in every area

should be cut. And on 27 August, mass protests in England sent a letter urging the UN to chase out the Khmer Rouge and its allies from the UN. The letter also urged the U.S. and British Governments to cancel all aid to the Khmer Rouge.

World opinion is blaming the outrageous crimes of the Khmer Rouge. The world's people consider helping the Khmer Rouge to be a naive move because it is widely known who the criminals are who killed more than 3 million Khmer people. But a group of imperialists and international reactionaries stubbornly close their eyes and ears and support and nuture this criminal group of ethnic extinction. They also exert their efforts in propagandizing, drugging and poisoning international opinion in any form, hoping to keep this fake role of the Khmer Rouge on the international stage. Nevertheless, it is time that the demands and reminders for justice and human rights in the world by the progressive world populace and keepers of justice should be responded to.

12597/9190

CSO: 4206/12

LAOS

MONG DISTRICT SECURITY, 'BLOOD DEBT' SAID OWED BY VANG PAO

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 1 Oct 85 p 2

[Excerpts] Hom District was formerly an area that the enemy came into, moved around, and destroyed. The local people of Hom District were trapped in difficulties and confusion. They were always oppressed at gunpoint by the henchmen of the imperialists, especially those of Vang Pao. They caused considerable bloodshed which the people of Hom District still remember and cannot forget.

Hom District is presently being built up and restored. The standard of living for the local people has been improved. Illiteracy has been 100 percent eliminated in Hom District. A total of 53 schools has been built, which include 1 secondary school, 49 elementary schools, 1 kindergarten, 1 teachers training school, and 1 cadres training school; there are 178 teachers in the school system and 2 hospitals. The hill tribe people have gradually changed from midland farming to lowland farming. Those who used to farm in isolation have come to farm collectively and formed a labor exchange unit. The 103 ha of rice fields has been increased to 300 ha and a yield of 2.2 tons per ha will increase to 2.5 to 2.8 tons per ha.

Along with that, the security network has been improved in each area and each village. Many young people are participating in guerrilla units and in military service in defending this rich land.

Grandpa Tong Neng, a senior citizen of Ban Long Xan, stated that, "Without the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] or the LPDR government or the new regime, I believe that all who live in Hom District would not have any chance to be in charge, to be the owners of this land and to have this way of life."

12597/9190  
CSO: 4206/12

LAOS

# FURTHER REPORTAGE ON KAYSONE USSR VISIT

Vietiane PASASON in Lao 2 Sep 85 p 2

[Text] In response to the invitation of the Central Administration Committee of the Communist Party, the Supreme Soviet and the Ministrat Council of the USSR, Comrade Kaysone Phomviharn, secretary general of the LPDR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the LPDR, successfully visited and observed work in the USSR between 25 to 28 August 1985.

This important visitor from Laos was welcomed warmly during his visit to the birth country of the great Lenin. This clearly reflects the increasingly close and undestroyable flourishing relations, military solidarity and close cooperation that exist between two parties, the two states and the two nations of Laos and the Soviet Union.

Starting at 10:00 am (Moscow time) on 27 August, our respected Comrade Secretary General Kaysone Phomviharn went and laid a wreath at the tombs of the great Lenin and the unknown soldier at the Kremlin Wall. In the evening starting at 5:00 pm on that same day, the leader of Laos met with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union's Communist Party. Later at 6:30 pm, a reception was given in honor of Comrade Kaysone Phomviharn by the Soviet Union's Communist Central Party, the Chairman's Commission of the Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Union's Council of Ministers in the reception room in the Kremlin Palace in a joyful, intimate and warm a atmosphere.

In their discussions, Comrade Secretary General Mikhail Gorbachev and Comrade Secretary General Kaysone Phomviharn exchanged reports and opinions concerning the political, economic and social situations in Laos and the USSR and preparations for the fourth general congress of the LPRP and the 27th general congress of the Soviet Union's Communist Party. In addition, both sides examined relations between Laos and the Soviet Union and current international issues. They both expressed their satisfaction with the major successes that the Lao and Soviet peoples have grasped. The unanimously agreed on every issue that was brought up, especially on tightening their solidarity and increasing overall cooperation between Laos and the USSR in the present and in the future.

The splendid success of the visit of the senior representative of Laos has contributed importantly to increasing fraternal relations and total



cooperation between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the LPRP of Laos, and between the Lao and Soviet peoples.

Our respected Comrade Secretary General Kaysone Phomviharn safely returned to our country on Aeroflot Airlines.

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CSO: 4206/12

LAOS

## VIENTIANE REPORTS SOVIET GREETINGS TO LAO LEADERS

BK040313 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao 0000 GMT 4 Dec 85

[2 December joint greetings message from CPSU Central Committee, Presidium of Supreme Soviet, and Council of Ministers of USSR to Kaysone Phomvihane, general secretary of LPRP Central Committee and chairman of Council of Ministers, and Souphanouvong, president of republic and chairman of SPC of the LPDR]

[Text] On the occasion of the significant 10th anniversary of the establishment of the LPDR, the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers of the USSR would like to convey sincere greetings and best wishes to you, comrades, and through you to the LPRP Central Committee, the SPC, the Council of Ministers of the LPDR, and all Lao people.

Ten years ago, the Lao people, under the leadership of the LPRP--their vanguard which has gone through many trials--successfully achieved a national-democratic revolution, thus ushering in a new era in the centuries-long history of the nation. In the past few years, the Lao people have made great achievements for the republic in building their new life, safeguarding the revolution's gains, and opposing aggression by the imperialists and outside reactionaries. Following the implementation of the third LPRP congress' resolutions, the laboring Lao people have made outstanding achievements in carrying out the revolution to transform the society at the grass-roots level, developing the national economy, and building the culture and society.

The LPDR's foreign policy of cherishing peace is highly thought of in the international arena. Laos, and the other Indochinese countries, has become an outpost of the forces for peace, democracy, and social progress in Southeast Asia. The Soviet Union has consistently supported the various creative proposals of the LPDR, the SRV, and the PRK, which have tried to turn the region into one of peace, stability, and good-neighborliness. Implementing the three Indochinese countries' initiatives will contribute to improving the situation and guaranteeing the security of all of Asia.

The fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation established on the firm basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism between our two

parties and states have been developed and strengthened with each passing year in the interest of fulfilling the various tasks of building socialism and communism in our countries and achieving world peace and security. The recent visit to the Soviet Union by Comrade Kaysone Phomvihane, general secretary of the LPRP Central Committee and chairman of the LPDR Council of Ministers, was a significant turning point in the development of Soviet-Lao relations in the next stage.

Joining the working people of the LPDR in celebrating the anniversary of the republic, the Soviet people are convinced that the Lao people will achieve new successes in building socialism, thus contributing to strengthening the socialist community and the common struggle of various socialist countries and progressive forces around the world for peace, the elimination of the threat of nuclear weapons, and the relaxation of world tension.

We wish you, beloved comrades, and all Lao people successes in fulfilling the tasks of the first 5-year plan to welcome the fourth LPRP Congress with glorious achievements. May the fraternal friendship and solidarity and all-round cooperation between the CPSU and the LPRP and between the USSR and the LPDR be developed and strengthened!

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CSO: 4206/29

LAOS

ARMY SIGNAL UNIT EXPANDED, DIFFICULTIES DESCRIBED

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 27 Sep 85 p 2

[Excerpt] Signal Demi-Battalion "A" in Vientiane is one of the armed forces' divisions successfully performing the two duties of national defense and socialist development. This demi-battalion is currently growing and getting stronger.

In 4 years, Signal Demi-Battalion A grew from being a company to a demi-battalion on 23 August 1984. Actually, this unit has not been able to escape difficulties and confusion because of a lack of command experience, its broad range of duties, and a shortage of vehicles, which are mostly old leftovers from war time. As a result, these cars and trucks need considerable maintenance and repair. Sometimes, we have to combine two or three engines to get a single usable one in such trying circumstances. The cadres of Signal Demi-Battalion A lack technical experience and they must concentrate on educating themselves in political ideology; however, they are not discouraged. They are trying to improve the organization of their demi-battalion and the standard of living of the persons in it.

In general, every task of Signal Demi-Battalion A is difficult and confusing but with determination and a revolutionary spirit, with responsibility to and awareness of organizations, regulations and the structure of the army and with vocational training, cadres and combatants have been able to perform their duties successfully. They have also been able to draw lessons and learn from veterans by increasing their solidarity and giving mutual assistance in every task for which this demi-battalion is responsible. Manpower has been organized and divided to improve the performance of the unit. There is also assistance in farming in order to increase the standard of living of the demi-battalion.

With this determination and valor, the cadres are growing strongly in technical ability and political ideology only 1 year after the demi-battalion was established. Regulations are enforced and orders are obeyed uniformly throughout the demi-battalion. The cadres of Signal Demi-Battalion A are performing their duties according to the slogan, "Our work is guaranteed and prompt" and promptly coordinating between the lower and upper levels of the chain of command. This demi-battalion's operation runs smoothly in every circumstance and environment, day or night, at all times.

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CSO: 4206/12

LAOS

SRV LABORERS HELP BUILD PHONGSALY ROAD

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 30 Sep 85 p 2

[Excerpt] Ban Pak Nam Noi is a village in Mouang Khoua District, Phongsaly Province. It is located in a mountainous area 100 km from the provincial administration office. Travel and transport from Ban Pak Nam Noi to the provincial administration office are slow due to a lack of accessible roads; there are no roads for cars or trucks, only foot paths. Phongsaly Province's Party Administration Committee saw the necessity of building roads from the provincial administration office to Ban Pak Nam Noi. Construction of the road was taken underway in 1984 by workers of the provincial Communications, Transportation and Post Office Section with the help of workers and financial aid from our neighboring country, Vietnam, and many hill tribe laborers from Ban Nam Pak Noi and surrounding villages. According to the head of this road construction project, the road from Ban Pak Nam Noi to the provincial administration area runs for 125 km from its junction with Route 4. In the beginning, on 19 September, we joined with Vietnamese technocrats to survey the route and mark out the road bed by implanting posts along it. We completely cleared 47 km of the road bed according to plan during the first 6 months of this year. Obviously, the workers of the provincial Communications, Transportation and Post Office Section and Vietnamese workers were able to build 5 km more than projected.

Road construction is progressing faster than projected because Lao and Vietnamese workers have been assisted by locals. The 47 km section is on level ground so that construction has not been complicated compared to a 78 km section that winds and curves around mountains and passes over many brooks and streams. Construction of the route from Ban Pak Nam Noi to the administration office will be completed in 1988. This project is being done to commemorate the 10th anniversary of National Day. The head of the project expressed his opinion that the workers are prepared to struggle to finish building a number of roads as commemorative gifts for the historic day.

12597/9190  
CSO: 4206/12

LAOS

BRIEFS

LEADERS ATTEND MUSEUM'S INAUGURATION--To salute the 10th anniversary of the 2 December National Day, a revolutionary museum was gloriously opened at 0900 on 1 December in Vientiane. Attending the opening ceremony were Comrade Nouhak Phoumsavan, member of the LPRP Central Committee Political Bureau and first vice chairman of the Council of Ministers; Comrade Phoumi Vongvichit, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers; members and alternate members of the party Central Committee; ministers and deputy ministers; members of the SPC and of the Lao Front for National Construction; and many other distinguished guests. [Excerpts] [Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao 1200 GMT 1 Dec 85 BK] /6662

VIENTIANE TRADE FAIR OPENS--At 0800 today, a ceremony was held in Vientiane to open the 1985 trade fair to celebrate the 10th founding anniversary of the 2 December National Day. Attending the ceremony were Sali Vongkhamsao, secretary of the party Central Committee, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the State Planning Committee [SPC]; Faidang Lobaliayao, vice chairman of the SPC and of the Lao Front for National Construction; Khambou Sounisai, member of the party Central Committee, deputy secretary of the party committee, and chairman of the administrative committee of Vientiane Municipality; members and alternate members of the party Central Committee; ministers and deputy ministers; and a large number of local and foreign guests. Khamboo Sounisai delivered a speech opening the trade fair. [Excerpt] [Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao 0500 GMT 30 Nov 85 BK] /6662

CSO: 4206/29

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

PAPUA NEW GUINEA RESISTANCE LEADER SURRENDERS 3 DEC

HK051142 Hong Kong AFP in English 1033 GMT 5 Dec 85

[Text] Sydney, Australia, 5 December (AFP)---One of the leaders of the Free Papua Movement (OPM), Gen Geradus Tommy, has surrendered to the Port Moresby authorities, the Australian News Agency AAP reported here today.

The OPM operates along the southern section of the Papua New Guinea-Irian Jaya border against Indonesian rule in Irian Jaya.

The government of Prime Minister Pias Wingti has asked the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to find a third country for General Tommy and two of his deputies, Aries Wader and David Teimka.

The decision not to keep the men in Papua New Guinea was reached last night following the 4-hour emergency meeting of the National Security Council, chaired by Mr Wingti.

The three men were in a group of 11 who surrendered on Tuesday at Kuyu Refugee Camp on the Fly River in Western Province.

Border sources said shortage of ammunition and food forced General Tommy and his men to give up the independence struggle against Indonesian rule in Irian Jaya.

In 1969 Indonesia took full control over West Irian, a former Dutch colony, and the province was renamed Irian Jaya in 1963.

Various rebel movements based on the ideas of Papuan identity, and opposition to incorporation into Indonesia, have troubled the Indonesian authorities since then.

The resistance recently seemed to be confined to sporadic outbreaks against the Indonesian administration, especially in the highlands.

Ten of the rebels were sentenced yesterday to 4 months hard labour in the Kiunga District Court while General Tommy's fate is yet to be decided.

They are expected to serve their full term in Kiunga, pending the outcome of the search for a third country.

Papua New Guinea's foreign affairs minister, Legu Vagi, said today the three men would be resettled in a third country as soon as possible.

"The government is satisfied that the decision to resettle the three men in a third country is in the best interests of Papua New Guinea, particularly in terms of national security," Mr Vagi said.

He said Papua New Guinea would not allow its territory to be used for "illegal, hostile activities" against another country.

The UNCHR liaison officer in Port Moresby, Akilaja Akiwumi, said he had received the Papua New Guinean request to find a country of asylum for the three men.

Mr Akiwumi said his office would do all it can to assist.

/12232

CSO: 4200/350



PHILIPPINES

COLUMNIST EXPECTS DRAFT IMELDA MARCOS CAMPAIGN

HK300502 Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 29 Nov 85 p 6

[From the column by Jesus Bigornia: "Move To Draft First Lady for Veep Post Seen"]

[Text] A political stampede is in the offing. In the background, the clamor of the herd that is the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL) is dimly heard, getting clearer and louder each passing day. The message is: "Draft the First Lady" to run as the KBL candidate for vice president in the Feb 7 special (Snap) presidential election. Expect, therefore, a massive propaganda blitz backing the nomination of Metro Manila Governor and Human Settlements Minister Imelda R. Marcos for vice president.

A more convincing proof of a probable Marcos-Marcos KBL slate can be found than a 180-degree position turn executed by declared vice-presidential aspirants. No shrinking violets in previously seeking their party's blessing, they are now the staunchest advocates for a Marcos-Marcos tandem. To hear them talk these days, it would seem that they have received the word and the word is the First Lady is willing to accept a draft.

Sample 1. Deputy Prime Minister Jose A. Rono will, at the drop of a question, deliver a 30-minute speech disclaiming any interest in the vice presidential post.

Sample 2. "My sights have ever been set higher than the post of vice president," Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile says. "But as long as President Marcos is interested in keeping the office, I shall continue to give him all-out loyalty and support."

Sample 3. For his part, Labor Minister Blas F. Ople merely shakes his head, a little ruefully, to concede "the need to avoid the stampede lest the herd grind him into the ground."

As predicted in this space, the "Draft the First Lady" move will erupt in climax on the floor of the KBL convention scheduled on Dec 7 at the Manila Hotel. Political observers who have followed the first lady's political career closely predict that once clamor for her nomination breaks out, there will be no stopping her clinching the vice presidential nomination.

/6662

CSO: 4200/356

PHILIPPINES

BUSINESSMEN DISMAYED OVER MARCOS, IMELDA ROLE IN CONFERENCE

Manila MR. & MS. (Special Edition) in English 22-28 Nov 85 p 20

[Article by Erness Sanchez: "Guess Who Came To the Business Conference?"]

[Text]

**T**HE hundreds of top businessmen who attended the 11th Philippine-Business Conference (PBC) last weekend in Cebu City were in for a not-so-pleasant surprise.

What was billed as the year's number one economic meeting of local businessmen was turned into a political rally of the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan in a known Opposition bailiwick that is Cebu City.

Organized by the non-partisan Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry (PCCI), the two-day PBC was attended by 503 delegates, 300 of them from Cebu's chambers of commerce.

It all began when the businessmen learned of the "snap" arrival of President and Ms. Marcos. Little did they know that the couple was coming to address them when the Marcoses were not even part of their agenda. The PBC hastily had to invite President Marcos to speak at its opening.

As one high-level PBC official remarked, the confab was composed of 200 of 503 official paying delegates and about 4,500 unofficial non-paying delegates belonging to the KBL party.

The minority Cebu KBL hierarchy on learning of the "coming" went all the way to prepare a welcome to remember. Neither can the businessmen forget.

There were huge streamers, placards, flyers, balloons and other festive decorations. A brass band, of course. A special holiday for the city was declared. As early as 7 o'clock in the morning, schoolchildren were made to line up through the major thoroughfares; government officials were made to report to the Cebu Coliseum where the Marcoses were to proceed direct from the airport. Some officials were overheard to offer P50 to any person who'd listen to the Chief Executive and his wife.

Truckloads of riot police, members of all the major AFP services and firemen

were up at the crack of dawn to encircle the downtown area to prevent demonstrators from penetrating the Cebu Coliseum. Military operatives were placed on red alert. Air-conditioned buses were prepared for the foreign press.

In the meantime, at the site of the PBC, the plush suburban Cebu Plaza owned by Tourism Minister Jose Aspiras and Anos Fonacier, the businessmen were being told to go to the Cebu Coliseum for the opening of their conference. Of the 503 delegates, about 300 mostly from the Cebu chambers and from outlying provinces in the Visayas and Mindanao led by Cebu Chamber President Raul del Mar balked and boycotted the coliseum.

Those who proceeded to the site of the presidential address were mostly Manila-based. They rode on dirty, fishy provincial buses arranged by local officials for a fee of P100 per person. On arrival, the participants were shocked to discover

that the half-filled 10,000 capacity coliseum had all the trimmings of a political convention. The PBC delegates were edged out by 5,000 non-delegates.

Some 20 of the top leaders of the PBC were called to sit on stage. Almost all of them preferred to sit farthest from the President. Only PCCI President Felix Maramba was willing to sit in the front.

Books and pamphlets on the government were on every seat in the coliseum, courtesy of the Office of Media Affairs. Nowhere in the coliseum were the PBC reports to be found.

The President came past 10 o'clock more than an hour late. About five minutes later Ms. Marcos arrived. A number of businessmen observed that Marcos' make-up seemed thicker. First to speak was Mayor Ronnie Duterte who welcomed the First Couple. Governor Eduardo Gullas thereafter raced up the rostrum and grabbed the microphone to introduce the KBL hierarchy down to the barangay level. The introductions went on for almost an hour.

Ms. Marcos was next and upon the insistence of Gov. Gullas sang for the pro-KBL crowd. She first sang a Boholano song, "Mali-padyon", followed by a Cebuano song "Matud Nila".

The First Lady then spoke to the crowd encouraging them to vote for her husband in the coming presidential elections. She declared that a vote for her husband was a vote against Communism.

The only time the businessmen were given a part was when Maramba introduced Marcos. In his address, the President, perhaps in an effort to soothe the ruffled feelings of businessmen, said that the First Lady got carried away by the impending election but that he himself would only address the delegates of the 11th PBC.

The Chief Executive also announced that the International Monetary Fund had approved the release of the third tranche totalling 106 million in special drawing rights (SDRs) or \$111 million of the \$615 million in the credit facility.

Marcos stressed that he would preserve the value of the peso. And he would prevent inflation from further removing the purchasing power of incomes and savings.

Businessmen, he claimed, could avail of the Central Bank's forward cover to restructure foreign loans. The President declared that he would put more teeth in anti-dumping law amending tariff and customs code and strive to manage the national debt prudently.

He ordered the lifting of the ₱1.50 toll on the kilometer-long Mactan-Mandaue bridge that links the Cebu mainland to Mactan island.

After his speech, Marcos hurriedly left the coliseum. The businessmen couldn't locate their pre-paid buses, and were forced to take taxi cabs and commercial buses back to the hotel.

That same afternoon while

hundreds of PBC delegates were having their lunch and listening to Dr. Caroline Beeson's (a director of Center for International Private Enterprises of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce) speech, the First Lady arrived.

Suddenly Ms. Beeson was told by a presidential guard to sit down to make way for the First Lady. This occurrence was reminiscent of plays in the Folk Arts Theatre, delegates said, whenever the Metro Manila governor arrived late and the whole presentation was restarted for her benefit.

Raul del Mar was caught off-guard as Ms. Marcos cooed, "So there you are." Del Mar is also president of the Cory Aquino for President Movement for the Visayas. For starters, Ms. Marcos talked about the killing of Senator Benigno Aquino and that whoever killed him was no friend of the Filipinos.

The First Lady stated that her husband was a total liberal democrat who used the law to head off a violent revolution. She pointed out that the elite families who ruled the country had been removed and the people freed from their bondage.

She chided the Americans who desired to help the country in exchange for something extra unlike the Russians, Japanese and the Arabians. She thanked the various foreign chambers except the Americans.

After the First Lady left, Ms. Beeson returned to speak. She said that she had

never been asked to sit down while speaking in public.

Next to speak was Salvador Escudero who had nothing much to say except that he handed over a government plan on land utilization for various crops.

During the fellowship cocktails at Casino Espanol that very same day the topic of the businessmen was of course the business conference they never had.

Present during the cocktails were Opposition Assemblyman Marcelo Fernan and mayoralty bet and former Senator John Osmena. Businessmen described to them of the earlier boycott of the local chambers and other southern chambers of President Marcos' speech.

Those who attended the speech told Fernan and Osmena that they were duped into going to the coliseum. They went expecting for the President to

announce something meaningful for the business community and not more promises.

The businessmen doubted the announcement that the IMF had released the third tranche. They likewise did not believe that anti-dumping measures were being undertaken since most imported goods were coming in unabated. Their pleas to cut down crony monopolies were not even given due course. They confided that no matter the presidential announcement, toll fees cannot be lifted until government starts paying the contractor.

Fernan and Osmena observed that since there was no PBC delegate who had a kind word or was impressed by President Marcos' snap visit to Cebu whoever arranged it should be given a medal by the Opposition. **MM**

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CSO: 4200/332

PHILIPPINES

VERITAS LAUDS PALMA, ACCEPTS BIFURCATED OPPOSITION

Quezon City VERITAS in English 24 Nov 85 p 4

[Editorial: "Crushing the 'One-Candidate' Myth"]

[Text]

**P**ERHAPS it is for the best that that shouting match at the National Unification Committee meeting took place.

With the very public resignation of its chairman, MP and former Supreme Court Justice Cecilia Muñoz-Palma, the truth about the state of the political opposition in the country has finally been told.

For years we have labored under the seeming truism that only with a united opposition, rallying behind a single candidate and leader, could the anti-Marcos, anti-dictatorship forces prevail.

And so despite very real differences in ideology, political strategy and even temperament, political leaders struggled mightily to forge a united opposition. Their followers — and even those who do not subscribe to any one party or candidate but who nevertheless feel they should try ousting Marcos through the ballot — felt obliged to support whoever the stamp of destiny fell on, even if some of the widely-touted PSBs aroused deep-seated animosities and unease.

But MP Palma has finally crushed that myth, declaring in her now-famous resignation letter that she could "no longer be part of a masquerade of unity and continue to fool the people in their expectations that personal interests and ambitions will be sacrificed and surrendered for the country's welfare in the forthcoming elections.

"We in the opposition are wrongly obsessed with the idea that having one presidential candidate is the only means to attain victory in the coming election," she added, raising for the first time the previously unthinkable possibility of having two (or more?) candidates running against the incumbent.

Perhaps it is time to declare: If there are to be two candidates from the opposition, so be it. The final verdict, according to Palma, "lies with our suffering people."

And we have certainly suffered enough under 20 years of Marcos rule. After all, isn't the single biggest issue

against the opposition merely its inability to unite? Contrast this with the wide range and exotic variety of sins to hurl against the regime: human rights abuses, killings and torture, corruption of an unimaginable scale, economic mismanagement and blundering, colonial servility.

In clean and honest elections, provided terrorism is not used on a wide scale and votes are counted accurately and results presented faithfully in every level, up to the COMELEC, it is eminently reasonable to assume Marcos will go. Even if, we might add, he was faced with not one but two other contenders for the Presidency.

Personal ambition, it has been made clear, cannot allow certain aspirants to step aside in favor of another, public statements to the contrary notwithstanding. In the coming weeks, the battle lines will have been drawn, and the opposition candidates identified. In the final choice, only one criterion will have to be used, and this, we quote Palma again, is: "morality and integrity in the government."

Who of the opposition bets can lay claim to this lofty ideal?

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CSO: 4200/331

PHILIPPINES

WEEKLY DISCUSSES DISPARATE VIEWS ON MODERATE-LEFT ALLIANCE

Manila MR. & MS. (Special Edition) in English 22-28 Nov 85 pp 8, 9

[Commentary by Bonifacio H. Gillego: "Communists Are Neither Angels Nor Devils Incarnate: A Rejoinder"]

[Text]

**B**ASED on the almost instant reaction to my article from partisans of varying political faiths, I must have stirred the ideological hornet's nest of Philippine politics. Thus far, I have come across responses from an unreconstructed anti-Communist, Enrique L. Victoriano, "A Doubtful Alternative to replace Marcos Structure", Sept. 6-12, 1985, Special Edition); a self-confessed moderate, Rene Saguisag ("Reds & Yellows Drift Apart; Crisis & Opportunity", Sept. 10, 1985, Mr. & Ms.); and a social democrat of the BANDILA variety (Antonio Iborra, "The Gillego Alliance", Sept. 13, 1985, Special Edition).

Before I carry the dialectical process further by negating the negation (Victoriano's antithesis to my thesis), let me trace briefly the genesis of my proposal. When former Senator Jovito Salonga came to the U.S.A.,

he informed me about the withdrawal from BAYAN of former Senator Jose Diokno, former Con-Con delegate Teopisto Guingona, and Butz Aquino. This led us to discuss the merits and demerits of alliance work with the left in the context of the Philippine situation. Without taking an outright adversarial position, with his usual breadth of vision and tolerance befitting a true liberal, he encouraged me to put down my thoughts in writing. Which I did and sent to him. On the occasion of the Executive Council meeting of the Movement for a Free Philippines in Toronto, Canada on July 6, 1985, I presented the proposal to the Council. As the MFP Executive Council members are of disparate political orientation, decision on the proposal was held in abeyance. It should be clear, therefore, that the article reflects my personal views, not necessarily those of the

MFP as an organization.

Now to the responses. Rene Saguisag, whom I hold in high esteem, presented my article in his regular column, "The Lawful Truth", as "another competing claim in the market of ideas". He feels perhaps that I may have painted Communist attributes in glowing colors. He provides an antidote: an assessment based on his own personal experience. He asserts that "the so-called Communists may not be as good as they have cracked themselves up to be; however, they are not as bad as their detractors condemn them to be, either".

On the whole, he opines that I may be wrong. To salve the cut, he adds that if I am wrong at least I am wrong clearly. Yet he concedes in effect that Communists are not at all inflexible as they "can blend with the culture". In many ways, Rene states, "their dedication, discipline and national-

ism may get for us what Mr. Marcos has utterly failed to achieve". Quite an immoderate concession, indeed!

Antonio Iborra questions my skepticism about the efficacy of the liberal or the social democratic position to restructure our political and economic institutions. He projects the social democratic alternative as "radical" in the sense that it favors a federal system of government, a mixed economy and "an unwavering stand against Capitalism". Perhaps the brevity of his response did not allow him to expound on the "radical" character of the social democratic alternative. But I just cannot see what is so radical about decentralization or a federal system of government *per se*. In fact during the period of reconstruction, a good deal of democratic decentralization is required by Marcos and his cronies and by alien deprecators. What is so radical about a mixed economy which very often finds itself compromised in an international economic order that consigns us to beggary and dependency? In a deepening crisis, and the worse is yet to come, political ambivalence and economic eclecticism provide only anemic solutions.

What is genuinely radical is the empowerment of the people through organizations or mechanisms of their own creation to enable them or their true representatives to make the rules. For as the saying goes, those who make

the rules get the goods. What is truly radical politically and economically as well is not the distribution of goods but the distribution of power, power to the people.

It appears that Enrique L. Victoriano gave the more substantive and devastating response. Rightly so because it is thunder from the right! I have known Iking under a different set of circumstances during my reactionary past. Since then we must have listened to different tunes and read different books. He astounds me with his ideological purity and immobility. Despite changes in the attitude of the Church toward Marxism since Vatican II, he has not budged even a millimeter away from the traditional Church's position since Pope Pius XI denounced Communism as "intrinsically evil". The activist clergy of Latin America and of our own country, I presume, have enriched their faith and their lives by making use of Marxism as a tool of social analysis without in the least compromising their fundamental Christian beliefs. Dom Helder Camara of Olinda-Recife, Brazil, a Catholic bishop of world renown, has even issued a call in our century for a synthesis of Marxism and Christianity in the manner that St. Thomas Aquinas synthesized Aristotle and Christianity in the Middle Ages.

But listen to Iking: "Whoever says that international Communism has retreated from its avowed purpose has

just not been listening, or else has not understood that the ideological philosophy of dialectical materialism demands a progressive takeover of the world if international Communism is to survive. The axiom 'live and let live' is not found in *Das Kapital*."

The display of erudition is as dazzling as it is deceiving, perhaps not intentionally so.

As the once seemingly indivisible Communist monolith has been irreparably fractured, whose Communism are we talking about? The Soviet Union's? Communist China's? Yugoslavia's? Vietnam's? Even tiny Albania takes occasional potshots at Russia. What is evident in the conflicts between competing Communist states is the paramountcy of national interests over and above the imperatives of ideology.

I really wonder where Iking finds the linkage between dialectical materialism and world domination. The three fundamental laws of dialectical materialism, i.e., unity of opposites, transformation of quantity to quality, and the negation of the negation, offer an explanation of the dynamic and conflictual nature of reality be it the universe of matter or the society of men in history. To say that dialectical materialism "demands a progressive takeover of the countries of the world if international Communism is to survive" strikes me as a sudden undialectical leap in Iking's philosophical speculation.



Neither is *Das Kapital* a manual for territorial conquest. It is an analysis in depth and in breadth of capitalism as a system from commodity production to its ultimate extinction. In Marx's apocalyptic vision of capitalism's downfall, the agency or vehicle of destruction is not conspiracy or conquest but the insoluble contradictions within the system itself. As envisioned by Marx in the Communist Manifesto, the "grave-diggers" of capitalism are the proletariat — internal forces, not external forces of invading alien hordes.

Iking claims that the CPP did not improve its ordinance until the Philippines established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and Red China, implying thereby that the NPA is a recipient of assistance from external sources. If the combined intelligence and security agencies of the U.S.A. and the Philippines have not been able to substantiate this flow of assistance from the comrades abroad, Iking argues it is because "these masters of international deception cannot be expected to furnish receipts or issue disbursement vouchers for services rendered or materials supplied". I am afraid the clandestine mentality makes us conjure international intrigues for

prosaic domestic transactions. What is so mysterious about NPA sources of logistics and materiel? In areas under their control, they collect taxes, share in the harvest and produce of the land, impose levies on business corporations and establishments, and solicit donations with requisite regularity and ruthlessness. As to the state-of-the-art weaponry that may find its way into their hands, the world is literally an arms bazaar and buying stations overseas are not idle. I have money, will buy arms!

As I may have accentuated the more positive attributes of Communism as an evolving system, Iking cites a litany of Communist atrocities from the extermination of the kulaks in Russia to genocide in "the killings fields" of Kampuchea. The point he stresses in this regard is that Communism is basically evil because of "its unswerving ideological foundation". I will not dispute the theology involved in the question of morality or the relationship between morality and ideology. These are subjects beyond my competence. What I cannot simply accept is the equation of dialectical materialism with evil.

In no way should Communist crimes of the magnitude cited by Iking be condoned or glossed over. But the historical record shows that

excesses of the system are not beyond correction, control or containment.

Khrushchev denounced the crimes of Stalin; Khrushchev, in turn, was unceremoniously retired to live the life of an ordinary Soviet citizen; and Pol Pot was deposed by his erstwhile fraternal Vietnamese comrades.

Finally, Iking extrapolates a conclusion to my proposal as mine: that the only organization capable of replacing the Marcos structure is the hard left, more explicitly, the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). My prognosis is something more foreboding than the CPP's ascendancy to power.

In our obsessive fear of Communist victory, the structure that will replace the Marcos dictatorship at least in the proximate future is neither the CPP nor the moderate non-Communist Opposition. It is rather the extension of the Marcos regime, with or without Marcos, manned by his clones and/or elements of the anti-Communist pro-American Opposition, backed by the Armed Forces of the Philippines, and, naturally, supported by the U.S.A. Which means the perpetuation of our dependency and the prolongation of the agony and misery of our people.

Hence, my proposal: an alliance with the left is not only desirable but necessary.

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CSO: 4200/332

PHILIPPINES

WEEKLY VIEWS PRESSURES TOWARD DICTATORSHIP

Manila MR. & MS. (Special Edition) in English 22-28 Nov 85 pp 6, 7, 8

[Commentary by Dennis M. Arroyo: "Just Beyond the Ballot Boxes: The Dictatorial Temptation"]

[Text]

**W**ITH snap elections in the air, many have expressed the hope that the January exercise may spell political salvation for the people. This opinion is understandable. However, it does not reflect the real complexity of the present stage of transition. Lurking in the wings, just beyond the ballot boxes, is what may be called the dictatorial temptation.

What is the dictatorial temptation? Simply put, the leader who succeeds Ferdinand Marcos -- no matter what his political party -- will feel an attraction to turn authoritarian. The roots of the dictatorial temptation spring from economics, culture, the rise of violence and other factors. The conclusions stem not from detached theorizing, but from observing the dynamic ebb and flow of recent Third World history. Indeed, the political patterns of our Asian and Latin American neighbors take on a frightening similarity.

To start, there appear to be five major pressures which may warp the tenure of the post-Marcos president, somewhat molding him (her?) into his image. The first is economics. A favorite undergrad textbook, *Economic Development*, outlines why this is so.

"Impatience with the slow pace of development is as universal a sentiment as can be found in poor countries. In such a setting, dictatorships, however repugnant or abusive they may be on other grounds, are economically more efficient than democracies."

The professor authors from MIT and UCLA then elaborate on the slow pace of democratic decision-making and point out the obvious reality in the Third World:

"Military dictatorships are the most common form of government in poor countries. Further, some other countries continue with their civilian governments only with the tacit

approval of the armed forces."

Of course, *Economic Development* passes its own value judgments on the present set-up.

"As a rule, less developed countries do not use broad social consensus as a form of decision-making. . . In those unfortunate nations where authoritarian elites have a total contempt for larger and poorer groups in society, planning can become a repugnant means of wealth transfer from the poor to the rich."

It is thus easy to see how dictatorship comes in handy in pursuing an economic ambition. Ferdinand Marcos looks forward to the next century, as recorded in his *Notes on the New Society*:

"Before the year 2000, the Philippines will have emerged as a modern agro-industrial state. We shall have seen the future."

Eqbal Ahmad, a scholar on the Third World, gives a more sophisticated name to the phenomenon. He calls it

the Neo-Fascist State (sometimes termed here as the national security state). In his paper, Ahmad traces the rapid emergence of this sort of government during the post-war decades. The 1950s saw it in South Korea; in Iran under the Shah; and in Nicaragua under Somoza. The disease spread by the 60s and 70s afflicting more nations: Brazil, Indonesia, Greece, Uganda, Zaire, Uruguay, Chile and the Philippines. They all became militaristic. Then in the second half of the 70s, new members joined authoritarians anonymous: Argentina and Thailand. The trend rams into the 80s at a faster clip, what with the swelling of Third World debt and IMF dominance.

Ahmad states that such states rely on organized terror for their survival, and are consequently the most blatant violators of human rights. About 350,000 people have passed through the torture chambers of the Shah of Iran. An estimated 500,000 to one million were killed in Indonesia after the coup of 1965. Amnesty International has reported that 30,000 people in Latin America have disappeared (have been salvaged) in the last decade. In such areas, torture is used not so much to punish but to inspire fear among the people so that they will not link together politically.

Underlying the neo-fascist brutality and dictatorship, says Ahmad, are rabid policies associated with the Cold War.

"It views the state as absolute, the individual as unimportant. It emphasizes a continual war between Communism and freedom, stability and subversion, national security and anarchy."

Not only are activists equated as Communists, for the propaganda is preached that "subversives and infiltrators could be anywhere, and these latter undermine national security in a variety of ways, through student protest, labor strikes and peasant demands."

The neo-fascist states, says Ahmad, also follow a more or less uniform pattern of economic development. Significantly, the worsening of income distribution is geared at increasing profits which are required by this model.

"A cheap labor force is offered as primary incentive to capital; the internal market does not expand except for luxury goods. The economy becomes increasingly export-oriented . . . Income inequality multiplies. Any resistance to corporate and foreign interests is treated ipso facto as a police problem; anyone questioning this model is viewed as a subversive, a terrorist."

That is without doubt familiar; it sounds so much like home. And it is no coincidence that dictatorship has swept over nations devastated economically.

The economic pressure for authoritarian rule is reinforced by the problem of massive debt, a critical issue

for Third World nations. Repayment, as well as the ability to borrow more, require obedience to IMF conditions which hit the poor hardest. The new leader may well be tempted to use the iron rod to enforce compliance.

In debt-ridden Uruguay, for example, fully half of the national budget went to the armed forces and police. And in effect, one-fifth of the population has been commissioned to watch, trail and punish the others. In the Dominican Republic, IMF-imposed austerity measures caused food riots that left 55 dead. The case of Peru is also typical. Its IMF program provoked civil servants into staging the largest strike by government employees in that nation's history. The social unrest was so great that the national leadership had to declare a state of emergency. Another example is Bolivia. The month after the government accepted the IMF's prescription, a barrage of general strikes crippled the economy, each strike involving a million laborers each time.

Public outrage at such economic sacrifices and the repression they need is easier to understand if viewed against official callousness. Reagan's Secretary of the Treasury, Donald Regan, has uttered some memorable remarks:

"I don't think we should let a nation off the hook because we are sympathetic to the fact that they are having difficulty . . . As debtors, I think they should

be made to pay as much as they can without breaking them."

After economics, the second major pressure for dictatorship in a post-Marcos regime will come from the threat of violence.

The growing momentum of the NPA is well known and needs no elaboration. What may be more fascinating are prospects for the Armed Forces of the Philippines. Raul Manglapus paints a dreary scenario:

"If pushed to the wall . . . or if orphaned by Marcos' death, Ver's reaction will be interesting to watch. There is always the chance he might attempt his own takeover, perhaps with Imelda Marcos as a partner and civilian front — a move which could divide the army and ignite a civil war."

Continued American support for the AFP is possible even in such an arrangement. Manglapus comments on two factors:

"Ferdinand Marcos has been able to keep American support for his dictatorship, building his strategy on two simple realities. The first is that the Armed Forces of the Philippines, now numbering over 200,000, is the most U.S.-oriented army in the world. The second is that no country in East Asia (except Vietnam) wants the U.S. out of its Philippine bases."

Third on the list of authoritarian pressures is the cultural framework of the Filipino. According to social scientist E.E. Hagen, "traditional society (i.e.

non-modernized) is perpetuated by the authoritarian personality inculcated in a people, hedged about by restraints and punishments."

Professor Remigio Agpalo, noted political scholar, has examined deeply the cultural question and has come up with his own theory on the matter. He asserts that the *pangulo regime* has dominated Philippine politics since early history. This refers to a social arrangement based on the metaphor of the body; it is man writ large, and hence authoritarian. Agpalo draws from language, cultural values like *pagdamay* and national history to prove his point. The pangulo regime existed in the pre-Spanish barangay in the person of the datu, also in the Philippine Revolution in the persons of Bonifacio and Aguinaldo. It continued in the presidency of Quezon, and even more so, of Marcos. Always, the system has relied on authoritarian paternalism, control and unity. President Marcos himself admits of a *pangulo* culture in the Philippines (1981):

"We have a culture which is referred to as a *Pangulo* culture. Meaning, there is always a headman. There is always a chief . . . The history of our country before the Spaniards, during the Americans, during the Commonwealth regime, and during the Republic era, is a history of our people, the Filipino people depending principally on the Pangulo, upon a single leadership."

This type of culture-fed

government structure, Agpalo warns, carries with it an inherent danger: "a tendency towards dictatorship — for the *pangulo* in a pangulo regime is invested with vast powers."

A fourth pressure for post-Marcos authoritarianism may be called, for want of a better phrase, the messianic lure.

It is consistent with the pattern of history and human psychology that mass adulation helps foster dictatorship. Some liberators have become oppressors. Note that in ancient Rome, emperor worship was not imposed from above at first. It grew from below. Mussolini and Hitler were extremely popular figures before they revealed their true colors. Nazism was viewed by the Germans as a way out of their economic depression. According to the *International Social Science Review*, Nazism "was thus seen as a part of a reaction to frustration and despair". Hitler's standing was attributed to generalized discontent among the German citizenry and to the blunders of Germany's leaders, notes and journal. Moreover, the review explains how Hitler rode on "the influence of financiers, landed aristocrats and industrialists who had been pulling the strings behind Nazism all along".

Therefore, the next president, swept by a strong anti-Marcos sentiment, and being drunk with popular support, perhaps may become more attracted to the trappings of power.

He may even turn into, at the extreme, a neo-Marcos.

A fifth pressure for the dictatorial temptation stems from the dictator himself. There is nothing like a bad example and the present leader has already pioneered the ultimate precedent. To justify his dictatorship, Ferdinand Marcos has woven together an impressive body of political theory into a convenient and almost convincing framework. This is well developed in his slim volume *Today's Revolution: Democracy* and is perpetrated in what is falsely named the Filipino Ideology. He even attempts to appear revolutionary.

"I believe therefore in the necessity of Revolution as an instrument of individual and social change, and that its end is the advancement of human freedoms."

For Marcos, democracy is the revolution, and that revolution must be the work of the government. He thus welds together national "development" and national security, not hesitating to use the state's violence for those ends. In Marcos' *Politics of Transition*, he justifies martial law by presenting himself in the image of Rousseau's "benevolent dictator". His benevolent mission: to "save the Republic . . . to form a new society".

It is interesting that the conditions President Marcos used to sanction martial law are still very much present in national life. The Communist revolutionary movement is hardly comatose; the same

with the Moro secessionist drive. Oligarchy is still here, though called by a new name. And Marcos has not lessened the impact of "foreign interventionists".

President Marcos' authoritarian legacy shall be evident in a second way. It will be most tempting to retain Amendment 6 to legally dismantle the mess of laws penned by Marcos during his terms. In fact, one Batasan solon has suggested that the amendment be left untouched temporarily. But it will remain to be seen how short "temporary" is. Recall that many people thought that martial law would be merely a short-term emergency phenomenon.

To recap, even an oppositionist post-Marcos president will feel tempted to turn authoritarian for a number of reasons. These are: the pressures of economic crises, the threat of massive violence, the influence of Filipino culture, the lure of the political messiah, and the legacy of Ferdinand Marcos.

The matter does not end there, though. Arnold Toynbee, the eminent historian has described history as the interplay of challenge and response. The dictatorial temptation shall remain only a temptation as long as Filipino society is prepared to respond to it. Three checks are apparently imperative:

The first is the response of moral leadership. The issue of morality is often laughed at in political circles and is taken for granted as

such. Still, the people have seen how the moral bankruptcy of the regime has brought immense havoc upon the nation's political structures and its social fabric. The idea is not new, and in fact its emphasis dates to the writings of early Filipino social thinkers.

"Independence alone is not enough; we must also have a moral government, a very moral government, one that governs with truth and without deceptions . . . one that seeks the common good and not the good of an individual or a privileged class." (Apolinario Mabini, "*Cual Es La Verdadera Mision de La Revolucion Filipina?*")

Similarly, Rizal has written in his *Noli*, "So much power in the hands of men . . . without moral training, of untried principles, is a weapon in the hands of a madman in a defenseless multitude."

Corruption, for example, is a pressing malady and seems practically impossible to lessen, let alone eliminate. But the attempt is not all that futile. A classic book on Third World poverty, *Asian Drama* devotes a chapter on corruption. In that section, the author relates how corruption was rampant in Great Britain, Holland and the Scandinavian countries 200 years ago -- and has become quite limited now. The book also concedes that one of the principal factors for this change was "a strengthening of morals".

The most famous epitome

of moral leadership is Gandhi, who is most remembered for his struggle for Indian independence. His life itself has helped negate the appeal of naked force in the dynamics of political power play. Albert Einstein affirms this: "The moral influence which Gandhi exercised upon thinking people may be far more durable than would appear likely in our present age, with its exaggeration of brute force."

Therefore, the new chief executive must be one of unquestionable character, unsullied record and pristine principle. The next elected president must have the moral courage to resist foreign dictation, and the moral nobility to resist undue personal gain. Proven integrity is the watchword. The new leader must be too good to be false.

The second check is responsive government. The coming administration must recognize that issues are valid and urgent, and are not mere inventions of the Communists. The streets resound with the pressing cries for life and land, food and freedom, jobs and justice. After all, data show that almost three-fourths of the people live below the poverty threshold, and more than half, eat below the food threshold. It is indeed most ironic that the peasants — those who feed the population — are starving. On the same vein, the workers — those who directly create wealth — are reduced to sheer poverty. Hardly a

coincidence is the fact that today's revolutions explode from the largest sector and most oppressed — the peasantry. On this, Barrington Moore comments: "The process of modernization begins with peasant revolutions that fail. It culminates during the 20th Century with peasant revolutions that succeed." Holding these as evident, a government truly responsive must adhere to the logic of the majority and must answer with urgency the demands of these sectors. Representation is imperative as well.

The third check to the dictatorial temptation is the most potent and perhaps promises the most lasting effects. It is the response of popular democracy.

At its present stage, popular democracy takes on the form of what is called the new politics. This indirect product of martial law Jose Diokno refers to as "the weapon of the oppressed who have no arms". It stresses the intervention of mass organizations and mass movements into the process of decision-making through pressure politics, often the parliament of the streets. It encourages the formation of such organizations so as to transform passive individuals into active, dynamic members of an involved, mobilized citizenry. The individual emerges thus as a participant in the unfolding of history. This being so, the new politics is the direct opposite of dictatorship. The people become directly empowered

as such autonomous grass-roots organizations spring up in barangays and towns, market places and rice fields, academies and colleges. They mature into instruments of popular political education, conduits of popular initiative, and mechanisms for popular mobilization. In turn, such groups get to check each other and prevent any party or faction from monopolizing state power.

There are those who may object to the power shift arising from this arrangement. After all, it is equivalent to a trimming down of prestige and importance of the traditional political parties. However, experience has taught that the patron-client mode of politics has retarded independent thinking. Citizens were most concerned with issues only during elections, and hardly in-between them. Quite logically, the Old Society prepared the way for the New Society; and the unpoliticized masses were caught unready for the Marcos rampage.

Given enough momentum, the new politics may accelerate the transformation of Filipino society from its lethargy. It may change individuals wrapped in fear and locked in personal security into vigilant people: those ready to die for urgent issues or for the sanctity of the ballot. It may generate the critical mass needed to launch that non-violent weapon which has rocked and toppled Latin American dictatorships: the general

strike. (We may try it even at this stage. Veteran activist Ed Garcia suggests unleashing a general strike three days after massive fraud is confirmed for the presidential elections.) Whatever its apparatus, popular democracy spells the beginning of the end for one-man rule.

In sum, three checks are apparently needed to escape the tragedy of a possible post-Marcos authoritarianism. These are the safeguards of moral leadership, responsive government and popular democracy. If pursued, the Filipino people shall be led not into the dictatorial temptation, and shall be delivered from recycled evil. MM

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PHILIPPINES

TRIBALS DISLODGED BY MILITARY-DEVELOPMENT COUNTERINSURGENCY

Manila MR. & MS. (Special Edition) in English 22-28 Nov 85 p 5

[Article by E. A. Mondez: "The Isnegs Want To Go Home"]

[Text]

**T**HE silent trail to Marag, Luna in Kalinga-Apayao, doesn't indicate a peaceful barrio ahead. The houses stand empty; *palay* is everywhere, some are still unharvested; clothes are inside cabinets while pots, broken water jars and other kitchen utensils are scattered on the floor.

In the middle of all these are the Isneg people who were left with a choice: leave the land of their birth and settle in the lowland or move to the forest and continue their way of life. Sixty per cent have chosen to remain in the edge sitio of Cagandungan. Captain Constante Madriaga of the 117th Infantry Battalion stationed in Marag believes that those who remain have taken up arms and joined the rebels.

The reported bombings from March to October of this year indicated the escalation of the counter-insurgency program of the military. This program is endorsed by the Luna Sangguniang Bayan headed by Mayor George Vargas who

even considered the deployment of chemical bombs to terrorize the rebels. Helicopters used during bombings and strafings are commonly known to the people to belong allegedly to Alfonso Lim, a powerful logger in Region 2, owner of the Taggat Industries.

Captain Madriaga admitted the strength of the NPAs in the area. NPA activity increased when the military and security forces in the logging operations became the target of NPA attacks. In November last year, NPA confiscated several ammunitions and destroyed an armored car of the Taggat Industries. The unprecedented campaign of the military against the insurgents placed the natives in constant fear. In April during one of the bombings and strafings, mortar fires hit the huts in the hillsides where the folks sought refuge during military operations. Did they see a new hero among the rebels?

Numerous reports of military atrocities seemed



to have driven the Isnég people away from the military and the government. Recently four bodies of the natives were found dead in a well in Marag. The folks said that whenever the military conducts operations, houses are ransacked; people arrested and tortured, places bombed, young women raped and houses, strafed. Many have been forced to leave their homes and stay with their relatives in the town center or build small huts beside the ricefields in the lowland barrios. Away from their fields and fishing area, the evacuated families now contend with a little harvest from the lands of residents in Luna proper.

The fact-finding mission composed of human rights workers in Manila, Baguio and Cagayan felt the sadness of Marag as they saw the deserted houses, trees thick with fruits and the ricefields glowing with yellow grains. The sufficient lands, rivers

and mines of the upland have made Marag one of the most prosperous barrios in Luna. The place is also the site of big logging concessions. The illiterate Isnégs are also victimized by land grabbers from the towns of Kalinga and Cagayan.

The tears of an old man who was forcedly evacuated from Cagandungan revealed how important and precious the life they had left behind. To live in a different place and culture is a sacrifice he has to endure, for no matter how urgent his wish is to return to his homeland and to his relatives who are left behind, the fear in his heart to be branded as subversive always prevails.

One of the Isnégs echoed the sentiment of his tribe. "We don't mind the NPAs, we don't need the military. We only wish to return to our homes. We were given life there, we grew up there, we wish to die there."

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PHILIPPINES

NPA 'AMAZON' DISCUSSES RECRUITMENT, MISSIONS IN MINDANAO

Manila MR. & MS. (Special Edition) in English 22-28 Nov 85 pp 18-19

[Article by Fe B. Zamora: "Story of Kumander Ligaya: Is She for Real?"]

[Text]

SHE claims to have stabbed to death a pregnant woman who rebuffed the NPA's taxation. She claims to have enticed a soldier to a fatal love play, then triumphantly ran off with her prey's armalite. Ambuscades, she claims too, are her forte: She gets sick if she misses one.

Is she for real?

Marilou Pagente, 22, smiles demurely behind curly black hair. Her long nails are painted violet red, the color matching her pedicure. Marilou, says Col. Loreto Deus, CO of the 44th IB, Tabak Division based in Polanco, Zamboanga del Norte, "is Kumander Ligaya of the NPA". The bedimpled amazon sighs: "I've had enough of it".

She hates the label "Kumander Ligaya" -- "I'm not Kumander Ligaya. It's only the military who gave me that name". But whoever she is and whatever she was, this is her story.

When girls her age were

blushing over puppy loves, Marilou, at 11, discovered "love for country". She was in Grade 6. "Some friends invited me to attend a gathering". It turned out a teach-in. The topic, she recalled, was "*pamalaod*" (government). "*Ang gobyerno katok, ang gobyerno mali*" (the government is insane, the government is wrong), she was told by the lecturer.

More gatherings followed, with Marilou faithfully attending. "The topic struck me. Equality. True Democracy. *Walay datu ug pobre* (No rich or poor)". Two years later, at 13, Marilou, daughter of a landed couple and niece of a politician (she requested they not be named), joined the NPA's Semi-Legal Team (SLT).

She had, by that time then, already finished basic party courses. "Anything about the government, I can explain". She moved around her mother's hometown in Zamboanga del Norte (again, her request

not to name the exact place). She was already in high school. At one point, her politician-uncle angrily ordered Marilou to "stop it"! To appease him, Marilou obliged to be his candidate in a local beauty contest. "Money was one of the criteria. My comrades enjoyed raising funds for my candidacy", she chuckled. Her consort was a "*kasama*", (comrade), the son of a judge from Luzon. "I wonder where he is now."

The beauty queen stint is a highlight in her life. Marilou has kept photos of her coronation night. Still, the call to the hills "to liberate my people" grew stronger. A "*sundalo sa mga kabus*" (soldier of the poor) she was going to be.

It was time to move on, for the bigger battle. She had dropped her name Marilou and was going around as Jackilou, Jackie,

Anggeng, Inday. The awaited order came: she was instructed to go to Lanao.

"The instructions were clear: two men will wait for me in Kolambogan. I was to wear denim pants, yellow t-shirt, shades and a red handkerchief tied around my wrist". But Marilou was wary. She was a total stranger. "I stood there at the pier, like a lost kid". Then, from nowhere, two men were by her sides. "Jackielou", one of them said. She looked at them, check for signs — color of shoes, shirt, pants. The contact was made.

From there, it was a long trip: bus, jeep, on foot. By nightfall, she was "home" in a rebel camp. "They were very nice. They gave me a *malong*". Thus began her training as a Red fighter, a regimented, highly-disciplined life that would make her dream come true.

Her first assignment, she said, was to test her capability to stand blood and gore. "I stabbed to death a pregnant woman who had refused to pay taxes". She thrust the blade into her stomach, and felt something hard in the way. "It must have been the baby". The woman's eyes remained open, stunned, terrified. "She blinked a few times. I couldn't sleep after that".

Next assignment was as gory as the first. This time, it would be an intelligence man. "I lured him. *Mahilig din ako sa fatigue*. (I also like men in fatigues)." She

stabbed him, bided her time swishing the blade in his stomach, and ran off with the dying man's armalite. In her next assignment, "Jackielou" discarded the knife for a .45.

But it was not all violence all through out. "I enrolled in midwifery school. My comrades regularly come to my boarding house bringing me firewood and vegetables". At one time, the house was raided. Marilou eluded arrest. She participated in ambushes whenever "there was time", successfully leading a double life of an easy-going student by day and hardened guerilla by night.

She became tougher with each mission accomplished. Marilou was nearing 20 when she finished her midwifery course. Taking a leave from guerilla activities, she attacked her books for the board exams. Among her comrades were nurses and engineers who failed the board exams; several bar flunkers too. Marilou didn't want to be like them.

Thus the licensed midwife became the rebel's medic. "One comrade turned yellow with jaundice". The most common diseases were ulcer, malaria and anemia. By this time, Marilou was already going full-time. She wrote her mother she was already dead. "My mother didn't believe that, of course. But she said prayers for me."

"My mother had already suffered a lot. I haven't been in touch with her for a long time." The "prodigal daughter", for that was how her mother called her, finally

came home. She was "re-called" to Zamboanga del Norte. "I went home but only for a few days". The call to arms was never silenced.

Now, it's the wilderness of Zamboanga Peninsula. "We wore fatigues. We entered barangays and the civvies (Civilian Home Defense Forces) surrendered their arms. I told them I was a member of the WAC (Women's Auxillary Corps)".

Life in the hills was hard. "We'd hike for five days with no food but bamboo shoots, grass and wild fruits to eat." While trekking the borders of the Peninsula, one comrade, a Tagalog-speaking male youth, suddenly fell down. He died. "We didn't even know his real name but we knew he came from Manila". They buried the unknown rebel in the wilderness.

Back in her hometown, Marilou became a tax-collector. She had list of the payers. "Lilian Bus Lines contributed 20 to 50 thousand a month. Once, I collected 50,000. I bought six units of Walkman".

Businessmen, provincial health doctors, mayors, Marilou said, contributed money, medicine and sacks of rice. Selected residences became "posting" points. Salesgirls tipped her where to send "revenue" statements. "I wore make-up, shades, tight jeans, a shoulder bag. Who could tell I was collecting taxes for the NPA?"

The spate of mass demonstrations drove Marilou to the frontlines of open protest. "I

spoke in rallies, I joined marches". Her politician-uncle, again, was aghast. "I stopped listening to him".

The "spurned" influential uncle would turn out to be her "rescuer". On Jan. 30, 1985, Marilou was captured in Basagan, a barangay in Polanco. The politician-uncle interceded. Marilou was released. Straight home she went. Again, the call to arms haunted her. "I'll die an NPA".

It was back to the hills with greater determination, steelier resolve. Toting an armalite, "Jackielou" went on rampage, raiding detachments and police stations. Her most daring coup: the raid on the municipal hall of Jose Dalman. The rebels disarmed the policemen, carted away rounds of ammo and office equipment without firing a single shot.

The amazon's happy days ended at noon of June 7. Marilou, with two comrades, were on their way to a "contact" when a policeman spotted her. Sensing evil, Marilou and company scampered for safety. "If I were armed, I would have shot him". But all she had was the Walkman plugged to her ears. The policeman beat her to the dash. Jackielou was captured.

Days of interrogation followed. From the police station, she was turned over to the Marines camp. She had

an audience with Maj. Gen. Delfin Castro, chief of SOUTHCOM, in Zamboanga City. "I was surprised. I have been told military men are cruel. Nobody harmed me during interrogation." Back to Dipolog, newly-captured "comrades" were presented before her. She denied having known them. She told her interrogators, however, the names of top NPA supporters in the province.

One local reporter investigated Marilou's Red past. Her findings: Marilou was a fake NPA. Marilou was never a tax-collector but a plain extortionist. "I knew that was going to happen. I still am in contact with my comrades. They told me of the plan to discredit me for the sake of the movement."

For the first time in her life, Marilou is "employed". As a "casual" employee of the office of the Provincial Governor, she receives 600.00/month. "It's almost two months since I got my appointment, but I only received 250.00." Gen. Castro had also given her P1,000.00 when she surrendered. But it's a poor man's money compared to her "tax-collectors" days when she could afford "one pair of stretchable denims a month".

Marilou is now the official military spokesperson in its anti-insurgency information drive. "Ask me

anything about these people you know as NPAs", she would exhort the crowd. "Let us clear these up frankly".

At one gathering, someone asked. "Who is the number one NPA supporter from this place?" Marilou looked around. "Your mayor". The mayor reddened, stood up and left. "I knew it was embarrassing for him but he gave me 500 pesos and two sacks of rice on several occasions".

At the military camp which she now calls home, Marilou had received a letter from her mother. "She wished I would marry a soldier", Marilou laughed. Since her second arrest and turn-about, none of her kin had visited her. "It's better this way, I hope".

On her first church visit — "I stopped praying and believing in God when I joined the NPA" — Marilou was hysterical. "I didn't know why but I cried and cried. She had to relearn praying. She had to unlearn life with a gun, though. Buried among her clothes is a .45 and a baby armalite which she adeptly dismantled and assembled — "whenever I have nothing to do". — The arms were issued to her by the military for security reasons. "I'm fair-game to anybody".

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CSO: 4200/332

PHILIPPINES

REACTION, IMPACT OF AUSTRALIAN PROJECT DEPARTURE FROM SAMAR

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 30 Oct 85 p 21

[Article by Samuel Sanoren in Manila: "New Tactics in Anti-Marcos War"]

[Text]

WHEN a band of about 50 guerillas of the Communist New People's Army (NPA) swooped on an Australian farm training centre in a remote village in the Philippines in August, they gave notice of a new approach in their efforts to bring down the government of President Ferdinand Marcos.

The raiders smashed hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of machinery and equipment, and hauled away livestock. They left unharmed both the Australian instructors and a number of farmers who had just finished a crash course in modern methods, but issued a blunt warning to the Australians.

The youthful raid leader said they must abandon the project because they were helping to prop up the ailing Marcos regime.

The NPA has been trying for 16 years to get rid of the Philippine leader, but this was the first time it had attacked a foreign aid project.

Reaction from Canberra was quick and decisive. Less than a week after the raid, Mr Bill Hayden, the Australian Foreign Minister, announced the withdrawal of 21 Australian consultants because security risks in the project area had risen to "an unacceptable level."

### Experience

Following the killing of an Australian engineer in another aid project in southern Philippines several months ago, Canberra did not want to risk more deaths. At the end of last month the evacuation of the Australians from Catarman was completed, and the project will be administered from Manila.

The political arm of the NPA, the National Democratic Front (NDF), welcomed the Catarman withdrawal as a positive step but expressed the hope it would lead toward "total withdrawal of Australian-funded projects, and indeed of all foreign-financed projects which are being used by the (Marcos) regime to suppress the Filipino people's national and democratic aspirations."

The NDF statement was clearly a veiled threat against a number of other development projects funded mainly by the US, Japan and West Germany.

For the people of northern Samar, the most deprived area in the country, the Australian pullout was a sad experience. The aid programme seemed heaven-sent following years of neglect by the national government. Per capita

income in Samar is estimated at just over US\$100 a year, about a sixth of the country's average.

The Australian project team leader, Mr Lindsay Davison, recalled that when the aid programme began in 1979, northern Samar had little effective infrastructure, hardly any health services, no communications, no electricity, extremely primitive agricultural techniques and almost no government services.

### Broadcast

As envisioned by the Australian Development Assistance Bureau, the development programme for northern Samar was to run until 1983 at a total cost of US\$45 million.

The Australian Ambas-

sador, Mr Roy Fernandez, told local people in a radio broadcast that the aid programme would continue, administered from Manila but Mr Davison doubted if such a set-up would work. The withdrawal, he said, had meant that the team has not been able to determine whether the project design was a real success.

But the person most concerned about the Australian withdrawal is the area's military commander, Brig-Gen Benjamin Cruz, who commands the under-manned 3rd Infantry Brigade. Gen Cruz is worried that without a fairly good road network, government troops will have difficulty chasing the guerillas. — FT

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PHILIPPINES

ACTING MINISTER CASTRO ON BANS AGAINST AUSTRALIA

OW291153 Tokyo KYODO in English 1141 GMT 29 Nov 85

[Excerpts] Manila, Nov. 29 KYODO--The Philippines Friday retaliated against Australian criticism by banning Australia from further use of American-run military facilities on Philippine soil. The Philippines said it took the step "with the view of ensuring national security of the Philippines."

Acting Foreign Minister Pacifico Castro issued a "note verbale" to the United States Embassy saying authority has been withdrawn for Australian aircraft to land at the U.S.-managed Clark Air Base for any purpose, including the training of Australian military personnel there. The government-run PHILIPPINES NEWS AGENCY (PNA) said the move was "an offshoot of the highly offensive statement" delivered by Australian Foreign Minister Bill Hayden before the Australian parliament on Nov. 26.

Philippine Foreign Minister Castro also sent a letter to Australian Ambassador Roy Fernandez requesting that Hayden's statement be deleted from the Australian parliamentary record on the grounds it was "highly unparliamentary."

Castro said the Philippine Ministry of Foreign Affairs "is surprised why it was necessary for the foreign minister to insult and attack viciously the head of state and government of the Philippines in view of existing close friendly bilateral relations between the two countries."

The Philippines cited foreign press reports quoting Hayden as telling the Australian parliament that the Philippine Government "faced severe economic dislocation and widespread and understandable dissatisfaction with its political and economic record."

Hayden was also quoted as saying that "human rights abuses by some organs of the government, and resolute inaction against the privileges and political power of its wealthy oligarchic patrons, have provided fertile ground for the growth of insurgency which now constitute a serious threat."

The latest problem in Australian-Philippine relations follows friction earlier this year that caused Australia to scale down a big economic development program in the central Philippine island of Samar.

The Philippine acting foreign minister drew attention to Australia's special ties with the six-member Association of Asian Nations (ASEAN) which groups the Philippines, Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore.

Australia is one of the major "diagloue partners" of ASEAN, Castro noted.

He emphasized that the Philippines has a special role in Australia's relationship with ASEAN since the Philippines is the coordinator for the ASEAN-Australia dialogue.

Hayden's statement was "unfriendly and hostile," Castro said.

"With the view of ensuring national security of the Philippines, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is withdrawing previous authorization given to the government of Australia to use the facilities" at Clark Air Base, Castro told the Australian ambassador in a letter.

Since the mid-1970's the Philippine flag has flown alongside the American Stars and Stipes at what were previously considered purely American bases on Philippine soil.

The huge air base at Clark Field and the naval base at Subic Bay, both on Luzon Island slightly north of Manila, are officially described as the two biggest U.S. bases outside U.S. soil.

Although the bases technically came under Philippine command in the mid-1970's, operations are still run by the U.S. armed forces as they were since early in this century.

The Philippine Foreign Ministry said the Australians had been authorized to use Clark Air Base for training of Australian personnel, including taking part in joint exercises with U.S. forces.

In his strong statement to the Australian parliament, Hayden stated: "It is gratifying that the United States and other countries are also urging reform on the Philippine Government."

Official Australian figures show that Australia gave about 12 million U.S. dollars in aid to the Philippines in 1984/85.

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PHILIPPINES

SALONGA: LP DOES NOT RULE OUT 'ARMED STRUGGLE'

Quezon City VERITAS in English 24 Nov 85 p 6

[Article by Redmond S. Batario: "Three Kinds of Struggle"]

[Text]

THERE are three kinds of struggle being waged in the country today according to former-senator Jovito Salonga.

One is the peaceful struggle via the electoral process. Second is the non-violent but militant struggle via mass protests while the third encompasses the armed struggle currently being waged by the outlawed New People's Army.

Salonga made the statements during his Davao sortie recently.

According to *Veritas* Carolyn O. Arguillas, the former senator also said that the Liberal Party is "involved in the first, partly in the second; without ruling out the third in the event that all peaceful means are exhausted and the people themselves decide there is no other way."

He, however, hastened to explain that "not all resort to force is violent. If my daughter were raped in front of me, would I not resort to force to defend my daughter? If I were attacked bodily, would I not resort to force to defend myself against my aggressors?"

"In the same manner, when a people are attacked through a variety of violent means, will it not reach a point when people would resort to force to defend themselves? Not all resort to force is violent. This is what I mean. It is said that those who make peaceful revolutions impossible, make violent revolutions inevitable. I would rather paraphrase that and say, 'those who make peaceful revolutions impossible, make resort to force inevitable'."

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CSO: 4200/331

PHILIPPINES

MORO LEADERS THREATEN RENEWED 'JIHAD' AFTER 1985

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 1 Nov 85 p 19

[Article by Joel Palacios]

[Text]

BARREFOOT teenagers with machine guns, grenade launchers and assault rifles are training in jungle camps in the southern Philippines for what their leaders threaten will be a "jihad" -- an Islamic holy war.

The Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) says it will go into full-scale battle if President Ferdinand Marcos does not negotiate on more autonomy for the south, home for most of the seven million Filipino Muslims.

MILF guerilla activities have so far been limited, with only occasional clashes with troops.

But as communist insurgency already stretches the government's military resources across the country, MILF leaders say at their camps on Mindanao Island that they are ready to rekindle an Islamic rebellion which they estimate cost 300,000 lives in the 1970s.

"We are preparing for a jihad," the Commander-in-Chief of the Bangsa Moro (Moro Nation) Islamic Army, Al Haj Murad, told me at his camp in

Maguindanao Province.

"We do not want political reforms but an autonomous Islamic government in the southern Philippines."

At another MILF base, guerilla leader Guilan Naeim Pelangking, known as "Chairman Maestro," said President Marcos had failed to fulfil the 1976 pact signed in Libya that ended the Muslim rebellion -- a charge denied by the government.

Violence

Mr Pelangking said: "Moro people will go to war after 1985 because Mr Marcos has not complied with the agreement."

Most Filipinos were converted to Roman Catholicism under 300 years of Spanish colonial rule. But Muslims -- Moro is Spanish for "Moor" -- held out in the south.

Mr Murad, 38, who heads the MILF Coordinating Committee, said its campaign was supported by West Asian countries where many of his men had been trained.

Surrounded by aides carrying M-60 light machine guns and AK-47 assault rifles,

he said: "We are now ready for any confrontation with the military."

"If Mr Marcos refuses to initiate talks with our central committee, we will resort to violence."

The MILF claims to have an armed force of 40,000.

"All Muslim youths reaching the age of 12 are required to undergo training in the mountains where we also manufacture guns such as the M-79 grenade launchers," said Mr Murad.

The MILF is headed by Salamat Hashim, former vice-chairman of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) which launched the rebellion in 1970.

The MNLF split into three factions after the 1976 agreement ending the fighting was signed in Tripoli. Earlier this year, Mr Hashim's group adopted the name MILF.

"We dropped the word 'national' in our title and changed it to 'Islamic' because in Islam there is no nationalism," said MILF official Zacaria Candao, former Governor of Maguindanao Pro-

vince, who took part in the negotiations in Libya.

He said: "A Saudi Arabia-based organisation of religious leaders called Rabita Al-Atam Al-Islamie is trying to bring together the three factions and is trying to form a committee which will try to open new talks with the Philippines."

The government says it has implemented the Tripoli agreement, starting with establishment of two autonomous regions covering 11 provinces in Mindanao and the setting up of Islamic Sharia law courts.

### Headquarters

The guerrillas are not satisfied. They say the pact provided for 13 provinces to be merged in a single autonomous government for all the southern Philippines, covering the Sulu Archipelago and Palawan as well as Mindanao.

Mr Pelangking said that in 1980 Muslim leaders gave Mr Marcos five years to fulfil the agreement.

"We concentrated on training our troops and it seems they will

have to go into battle after all," he told me at his headquarters near the boundary of Sultan Kudarat and South Cotabato provinces.

Mr Pelangking said communist rebels had asked permission to operate in his area, arguing that they and the Muslims had a common enemy.

"But we can drive them out if President Marcos and Mr Hashim start negotiations," he said.

One of Mr Murad's aides said: "We can see that the Marcos government has been severely weakened by the growing communist insurgency. It is having a difficult time trying to control 10,000 rebels, many of whom are not even armed."

"What will happen if we mobilise the Bangsa Moro Army now?"

"If the government wants to find a lasting solution to the Mindanao conflict, it should open talks with the MILF Central Committee headed by Mr Hashim. They should do it before the situation explodes into a full-scale war," Mr Candao said.   
Reuter

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CSO: 4200/332

PHILIPPINES

VISAYAN LABOR GROUPS PLAN PROTESTS, DISCUSS RIVALS

HK290903 Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 22 Nov 85 p 9

[Article by Joey Salgado]

[Text] Organized trade union groups in the Visayas are gearing for protest actions in the coming weeks, including a possible region-wide industrial walk-out on Nov. 31.

The protest actions, to be led by workers' alliances and unions under the Southern Philippines chapter of the Kilusang Mayo Uno [SP-KMU], are being called to protest alleged repression of organized militant labor groups in the Visayas, unemployment, and government inaction on the "basic demands of the working class."

Prospero Banzuela, director of SP-KMU, said the decision to launch a Visayas wide labor campaign was reached in a leaders' forum held last week in Cebu.

Those expected to participate in the labor campaign are members of the Alyansa ng mga Mamumuo sa Sugbo (AMMA-SUGBO) in Cebu, Workers' Alliance in Leyte (WALY) based in Ormoc, and KMU chapters in Negros and Panay.

During the trade union leaders' meeting, local leaders stressed the existence of a polarized labor movement in the region, particularly between members of the KMU and the Trade Unions Congress of the Philippines (TUCP).

The bulk of labor discussions focused on the island of Cebu, known to be a bailiwick of the Associated Labor Unions [ALU], the largest labor federation under the TUCP wing.

The labor [word indistinct] started some two years ago after the formation of AMAA-SUGBO which included some ALU local unions. Frequent differences between ALU local unions leaders who are officers of the alliance and federation bigwigs resulted in often dramatic clashes with Cebu police forces and the federation leaders, they said.

The assembly expressed alarm over the increasing role of ALU in "the suppression of workers' rights in the region," pointing to the violence-marred

strike at Cebu Shipyard Engineering Works Inc. where two workers were killed after clashing with striking ALU members and alleged hired goons.

"There is also a propensity on the part of TUCP federation members to appeal or protest certification election cases where they dismally lost, if only to deny unionized workers their benefits from early collective bargaining agreement negotiations," Banzuela said.

On job security, Banzuela said some 1,700 workers at Atlas Mining have been terminated since July and some 2,000 miners may be affected by further job cutbacks at the firm early next year. The management move was prompted by an alleged slump in the mining industry, which recently saw the closure of two Atlas mine pits in Cube. Owing to the economic slump, small factories have been forced to reduce their workforce and close shop either temporarily or permanently. Such a situation, Banzuela said, "only foments greater labor unrest."

"The view of this situation, government should have made extra efforts to solve the workers' problems but on the contrary, it continues to suppress workers' rights," Banzuela added. He pointed out the "restrictive provisions" of Batas Pambansa [BP] 130 and 227 governing labor relations, LOI 1458, and other presidential decrees and Batasan orders which "violate the workers' right to strike and organize."

"Now, the regime has enacted BP 880, which should be called the Anti-Rally Law, since it imposes restrictions on the exercise of the freedom of speech and assembly. Such moves are to the disadvantage of the Filipino workers who are the backbone of the Philippine economy," Banzuela added.

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CSO: 4200/356

PHILIPPINES

FALL IN COCONUT PRODUCT EXPORT EARNINGS EXPECTED

HK290741 Manila BUSINESS DAY in English 28 Nov 85 pp 2-3

[Text] Export earnings from coconut products are expected to drop by 35 percent this year from \$814 million in 1984 to only \$531.72 million based on final figures released by the Philippine Coconut Authority (PCA) for the period January to October.

The projected drop is largely due to the decrease in prices of and demand for coconut oil which traditionally accounts for the bulk (at least 70 percent) of coconut product exports.

If the projection comes true, it will be one of the lowest turnovers in several years. Last year's record of 1.128 million metric tons, on a copra basis, was already regarded as one of the lowest export volumes in years. The 1984 volume declined by almost 40 percent from 1983's total of 1.813 million metric tons.

If the present monthly average of 91,460 metric tons, copra basis, is maintained until the end of the year, total export volume for 1985 would reach only 1.09 million metric tons.

Last year's low export volume was largely due to the drought which reduced total production to only 1.435 million metric tons, copra terms, or by 36.6 percent from the previous year's record of 2.265 million.

Industry analysts say the reduction in this year's export earnings from coconut products will be largely due to the decline in demand and prices for coconut oil.

When the supply of coconut oil in the world market became low last year because of the country's reduced production, prices increased to record levels.

By the middle of last year, the price of coconut oil reached its highest peak of 65.25 cents per pound, surpassing the previous record of 50.50 cents per pound attained in 1979.

However, despite the improvement in coconut oil prices, last year proved to be very disastrous for the coconut industry. Due to high costs and the unstable supply situation, the traditional users of coconut oil shifted to other types of vegetable oil, notably palm kernel oil, which aside from being cheaper have stable supplies.

PHILIPPINES

NPA RETURNEE'S LIFE, ROLE IN COUNTERINSURGENCY VIEWED

Quezon City VERITAS in English 24 Nov 85 pp 16, 17

[Article by Carolyn O. Arguillas: "A Rebel Comes Home" -- "Now a Hunted Man, Ricardo Finds His Choice of a New Life a Difficult One"]

[Text]

**R**ICARDO, 24, graced the cover of an international newsmagazine some two months back. He was pictured as part of an NPA patrol. A few weeks after the issue came out, civil military relations service chief Brig. Gen. Eduardo Ermita denied that the armed men on the cover were NPA guerrillas. "They were surrenderees and putting them on the cover was unduly exposing them to security risk."

Ricardo, however, says it doesn't make any difference. The NPA has been looking for him because he has done something "*maka-daut*" (to destroy) the organization.

Ricardo is one of the 70 surrenderees and captured NPA guerillas housed in Task Group Panther headquarters in Tagum, Davao del Norte, where they are referred to as "special operators." Aside from being housed and fed in

the headquarters, they are also allowed to roam around the camp and visit their families or watch a movie outside.

In exchange, however, the task of "special operators" like Ricardo is to join the Scout Rangers on patrol. Like the Rangers they carry firearms, sometimes wear the Rangers' uniform and act as pointmen in familiar terrain.

Ricardo was 17 and a farmer in Kapalong, Davao del Norte when he joined the rebel movement in 1978. After a week, he said he was convinced that taking up arms was the answer. He was handed a 45 caliber pistol. He began training with the lower echelon units before graduating to the big time.

He told *Veritas* that in his six years with the movement, he participated in 22 encounters and raids. "I wanted to

find time for myself, to think things over."

What apparently led him to surrender was his desire to join his family. He got married to another NPA in 1983 and his wife gave birth January last year. He was able to visit his wife when she gave birth and after seeing that his wife and child were safe, he went back to the mountains. Fatherhood meant a lot of difference to him. He wanted to support his family financially, emotionally, and physically, Ricardo said.

Finally, he decided to "relax" and was granted one month leave. Ricardo said he came down the hills with P7,000, P5,000 of which was given to him by the movement on the day he left. The remainder came from his "savings."

He later decided to surrender to the mayor of New Corellas because "I was tired of being illegal. I want to be legal already." He was not endorsed to the Rangers, so eventually he got himself a job in Antonio Floirendo's SADECO banana plantation for five months but he said the uncertainty was still there. Ricardo said he wanted to surrender to the military authorities and the opportunity came when

Rangers discovered he was working with SADECO. He was escorted by the Rangers, surrendering, along with his wife, last July. His wife was subsequently released for "humanitarian reasons."

**T** IRED of being in the hills for years and living like a fugitive, he said his primary concern now is to be able to live normally, to work and support his family. Living normally, however, is a problem for Ricardo because of his involvement in the anti-insurgency campaign. The only job he could think of holding now is to formally join the Scout Rangers but he has only reached Grade 4.

Whether or not Ricardo's dreams of living a normal life, working and supporting his family can still be realized are all a matter of conjecture.

As he left Panther headquarters, Ricardo's words linger: "Since I may not qualify as a soldier, what work is there left for me? I cannot go back to the farm. If I work elsewhere, the NPAs will still find me."

Many others like Ricardo may be asking the same question. —

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PHILIPPINES

AFP REFORMISTS ON COUPS, COMMUNISM, PUBLIC ROLE

Quezon City VERITAS in English 24 Nov 85 p 18

[Article: "The Reformists Look to the Future"]

[Text]

**T**HE Reform movement surfaced during the military's lowest season: bad image, low morale, inefficiency. Recognizing their own sorry state, the reformists vowed to effect changes and bring back time-honored traditions that once made a soldier proud of his uniform.

At once the public saw in the movement a ray of hope in an establishment it has learned to distrust. The reformists were pushed to take on a role: "the light at the end of tunnel," according to their own words. It was a role they neither wanted nor expected.

Before a panel of *Veritas* staffers (Red Batario, Ed Pacheco, Rina Jimenez-David, Chit Macapagal) and columnist Luis D. Beltran, a few leaders of the movement candidly spoke about the public's expectations of them and their own realistic assessment of the movement's value.

**V:** Is it possible for a coup to take place here?

**RAM:** There is no safe way for us to answer that question. If we say yes then you will conclude that we are planning something. If we say no then you will think that we have already studied the problem and considered the possibility of a coup.

But okay. Just to answer a rhetorical question. Possible but remote. Of course, why not? We are talking soldiers and soldiers have arms.

**V:** Do you think that's the only element necessary for a coup, a soldier and his gun?

**RAM:** No. Political awareness of the soldier has a lot to do with his actions: awareness to stick by his role as a soldier or awareness to take action in the face of, perhaps, pressure from other sectors of society.

It is this latter case which we are resisting. This is what happened in most poor countries. More changes of government have been effected through military intervention rather than through peaceful means.

But it is going to have a chain effect. Today this soldier will get this wild idea to take over the government. Tomorrow it will be another soldier. Name me a country where the military intervened and then announced that it will only stay in power temporarily.

Taking over (power) is (not as difficult as maintaining it.)

V: If you hear of anybody plotting a coup what will you do?

RAM: Remember that the AFP as a whole has been organized as a countercoup (group.) Any attempt to take over the government will be fought by us, not as reformists but as members of the armed forces.

V: Will there be a role for the armed forces in case there is a change in the type of our government?

RAM I: It will still be the armed forces. If the public would like us to stay as its armed forces, we could probably be the red army.

RAM II: I probably will not accept that (become a red army). You see we have a mission to protect the state from such forces who would like to take control. Added here are the values that we grew up with like being god-fearing and wanting those basic liberties of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. But if such a situation comes about, the decision will probably be done on an individual basis. The problem here is gauging what the people really like. Do they really like

communism or are they just being manipulated by a few?

RAM III: We cannot assume that if and when the communists take over, they would assume the marxist form. In the first place, the movement here is homegrown. If they take the marxist form, the AFP is definitely going to be their enemy. From our mother's milk we have been taught that such a form of communism is bad. But a homegrown type might be different. For if this is what the people like, what soldier can really stand to find against its own people which it is supposed to serve. We should read what society really wants.

V: The problem with the reformists is that the public expect too much from you.

RAM: That is why when we talk to people we often start by describing what we are not. For some of them it seems we are the light at the end of the tunnel. This is what you may call as a situation where wishful thought precedes the fact. Actually we did not expect this kind of public reaction.

But the public should make its choice as to what it wants to do with its government. The military only follows. It should not be the other way around. As it is, it appears we are being forced to make the choice for them.

What we are saying is that we have definite boundaries. But the public is asking us to go

beyond them because we are needed instead of looking at us as working within those boundaries.

V: Well what option have you offered for the future when personalities like Ver and Ramos and Enrile are gone?

RAM: I will answer that indirectly. Perhaps what you have seen of the reformists are old faces like ours. But really the average reformist is young, between 28 to 35 years

old. The groundswell is by the youth. We just ride on. These young people have about 25 to 30 more years in the service. Without being impolite to anybody, we are saying that the reform movement will solve all temporary leadership problems. Our outlook is long range and this is what is so frustrating to so many sectors. They tell us we're too long-range (in our objectives) and that we're running out of time.

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CSO: 4200/331

PHILIPPINES

BRIEFS

LOAN FOR GOVERNMENT ASSET BODY--The government is seeking assistance from the International Finance Corp, a branch of the World Bank, for the support of its newly created Asset Management Group. Prime Minister Cesar Virara said the Asset Management Group has been set up to deal with the rehabilitation and sale of nonperforming assets of the government. Included in these are government financial institutions and corporations. /Text/ /Manila Far East Broadcasting Company in Tagalog 1000 GMT 29 Nov 85 HK/ 12228

CSO: 4211/16

THAILAND

OPPOSITION PARTY URGES STABILIZATION OF BAHT

BK050314 Bangkok THE NATION in English 5 Dec 85 p 3

[Text] Chat Thai Party yesterday called on the government to urgently take steps to stabilize the baht currency by not tying it with the depreciating U.S. dollar. The party also urged the government to take measures to put a halt to the continued decline in paddy prices on the market.

Party secretary general Banhan Sinlapa-acha told reporters that since the government devalued the baht currency last November, the currency has depreciated against many foreign currencies, particularly the Japanese yen and West German mark.

The baht position, he said, had depreciated by about 30 percent ever since.

"The government should stabilize the baht currency by liberalizing it from the greenback," he said. Right now one U.S. dollar is equal to 26.74 baht.

He said that the baht currency depreciated to 9.22 baht for one mark now compared to 7.76 baht before the devaluation, 13 baht for 100 yen now compared to nine baht then, 39.84 baht for one pound sterling compared to 28.63 baht then and 3.4 baht per French franc vis-a-vis 2.54 baht then.

Banhan also said that the guaranteed paddy price scheme launched by the government failed to work as the paddy price had gone down to 2,400-2,500 baht per kwian [Thai unit of measurement equivalent to 1.39 metric tons] now. "I am afraid it will finally plunge to 2,000 baht a kwian unless the government acted seriously to put a brake on the decline," he said.

He added that the package solutions filed by the party with the government had one unheeded.

Meanwhile, Banhan also disclosed that Chat Thai will not field in the by-election in the Constituency one because the party decided during the meeting on November 29 showed a wide difference of views of top executives.

Another reason was that when prospective candidates were approached the [word indistinct] offer was turned down, Banhan said.

Banhan told reporters about the party's decision to skip the contest at Parliament.

The decision was understandable because the big fight will involve the Democrat Party and the Social Action Party which have two prominent retired military generals in the contest.

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CSO: 4200/354

THAILAND

PREM AIDE ON DEPRECIATION OF BAHT AGAINST U.S. DOLLAR

BK040154 Bangkok THE NATION in English 4 Dec 85 pp 1, 2

[Excerpt] The Exchange Equalization Fund (EEF) announced a major depreciation of the baht against the U.S. dollar yesterday when the Thai currency was fixed at 50 stang higher at 26.69 baht per dollar in what is believed to be a significant new trend adopted to reduce volatility between the baht and the American currency.

Dr Wiraphong Ramangkun, a member of the Bank of Thailand's court of directors and a key economic adviser to the prime minister, told THE NATION last night that he believes the new baht-dollar exchange rate is a "move along the right direction that is in line with the country's economic conditions."

He admitted that the "managed fixing" of the daily baht-dollar exchange rates which apparently took shape yesterday should help establish a degree of stability for all concerned and boost Thailand's export competitiveness in the world market, especially against the United States which has become a major trading rival of Thailand in several major products.

"Thailand must also regain its competitiveness in the world market vis-a-vis our neighbours such as Singapore and Malaysia. And to effect a reasonable and appropriate exchange rate policy in this regard is one way to achieve that goal," Dr Wiraphong said.

THE NATION understands that under the new "managed fixing" policy, the EEF will attempt to quote the baht [word indistinct] rates at around 27 baht per dollar, hovering around the rate that was announced when the baht was devalued last Nov 5, with a marginal plus or minus of about 5 percent. There will be no "sudden fluctuations" regardless of how the U.S. dollar moves from day to day from now on "until such time as the dollar stabilizes against other currencies on a consistent basis."

The prime minister's adviser said that while the baht had appreciated against the dollar, it had also depreciated against other major currencies at the same time. As of yesterday, the baht had weakened (compared to the rates since the baht was devalued last November) by 13.17 percent against the German mark, 14.66 percent against pound sterling, 14.82 percent against

Japanese yen and 0.39 percent against the Singapore dollar. The baht appreciated by 2.45 percent against the Malaysian ringgit.

After the EEF had fixed the exchange rate at 26.69 baht per dollar yesterday, the baht thus appreciated by 1.16 percent against the greenback.

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THAILAND

ANONYMOUS FORMER GENERAL ON PREM, ARMY IN WAKE OF COUP TRY

Bangkok CHAT ATHIPATAI in Thai 5-11 Oct 85 pp 30-33

[Interview with a retired major general on 28 September]

[Text] CHAT ATHIPATAI interviewed a retired major general who is now a senator and who has great political influence outside parliament. He was interviewed at a house on the afternoon of 28 September.

[Question] Did Gen Kriangsak say anything to you about this when you visited him?

[Answer] No. We just chatted about ordinary matters.

[Question] There have been rumors that you will replace him as head of the party. Is that true?

[Answer] Nothing has been said about that. I don't think that is correct. We did not talk about party matters. I just went to visit him. He is depressed and so I went to visit him. We just chatted about ordinary matters. Gen Soem asked me how I was. I told him that I was fine (laughs).

[Question] Why did you make the visit?

[Answer] It's like this. Gen Soem has helped me in the past. I served as a major general when he was in command. As for Gen Kriangsak, we know each other quite well. Just after he resigned his position as prime minister, I was the first to give him a basket of flowers. He is having problems again and so I wanted to visit him.

[Question] What really happened on 9 September?

[Answer] I can only speculate. I tend to agree with the people. It would have been impossible for a handful of soldiers and 22 tanks to seize power.

[Question] Does that mean that other officers on active duty were involved, too?

[Answer] Probably.

[Question] Who?

[Answer] Officers who command forces. Rumors say that Lt Gen Phichit was involved, but that is unlikely because Class 5 controls most of the divisions. Without their support, it would have been difficult. Don't forget that in such a situation, people want to be on the winning side. It's difficult for the losing side to gain support.

[Question] Does that mean that officers at the troop command level were involved?

[Answer] That's possible. This class wants Gen Sitthi to rise. But if the coup had succeeded, they say that Gen Athit would have been above Sitthi. Sitthi would probably have been just [minister of] interior.

[Question] What is the situation within the military like today?

[Answer] There are great divisions. This was the plan of the political parties, particularly the large parties in the government coalition. They want disunity in the military so that they can become prime minister. After revising the constitution, they had originally planned to dissolve parliament. After winning a majority in the election, they would be able to name the prime minister. The military would no longer pose a threat to them because of the lack of unity within the military. If you ask why they did not become prime minister after the last election, the answer is that the military was still a force at that time.

[Question] What is the government's present situation like?

[Answer] The government is running out of room. Gen Prem is up against the wall. Because the officers who staged this rebellion were all close subordinates of Gen Prem. This includes the tank forces from the 4th Cavalry Battalion, or from Saraburi, and the senior officers. This shows that Gen Prem has lost the confidence of people and no longer has any prestige among his subordinates.

[Question] What about Gen Athit?

[Answer] Gen Athit is up against the wall, too. He doesn't know what to do to solve the problems. Take the generals who command the forces, for example. Gen Athit doesn't know what to do about them. He is also under attack by the political parties that want to destroy the military. The MPs and political parties say that no amnesty or pardon will be granted. This has caused Gen Athit to waver. He doesn't know what to do.

[Question] What about the five generals accused of being rebels?

[Answer] They are up against the wall, too. Gen Kriangsak and the others are wondering whether it would be good to call out the masses. Because things are becoming complex. They aren't sure whether the government will treat them gently or harshly. They aren't sure whether the government is serious. But if Gen Kriangsak called out the masses to stage mob demonstrations, the government would probably take resolute action.

[Question] Could Gen Kriangsak get out?

[Answer] Very easily. I asked a Special Branch police official who was guarding him whether he would turn over Gen Kriangsak if soldiers in EMC vehicles came and demanded his release. He said that they didn't need to come in EMC vehicles. He would turn him over if soldiers came in a pickup truck.

[Question] What will the situation be like in the coming period?

[Answer] It will probably remain tense. But I think that there will definitely be changes again within the next 2 months.

[Question] Who will be involved and what kind of change are you talking about?

[Answer] There will probably be another rebellion. If Gen Prem or Gen Athit do not stage a coup, then someone else will. Someone will come forward to solve the problems and heal the splits in the military. As I said, everyone is up against the wall.

[Question] Do you think that the government will solve the problems by reshuffling the cabinet?

[Answer] I don't think so. But it would be good if it did reshuffle the cabinet. The people are very tired of the old faces. But I don't think that reshuffling the cabinet would solve the problems. This would just be a psychological move to make the people think that changes have been made and to give them hope. During the 9 September rebellion, the people cheered the rebels. They did that because they want a change. As for solving the problems, that is a separate issue entirely.

[Question] Is there any chance that the government will dissolve parliament?

[Answer] I don't think that that is very likely. That would mean that there was a conflict between the government, which administers things, and the MPs, who monitor the administration. That would be a reason for dissolving parliament. But there are no problems with the MPs. They have passed the budget. What excuse could they use? If the government dissolved parliament now, the people would disapprove and so the government's present support would crumble. The government would not have any credit with the people.

[Question] What can the government do to solve the problems?

[Answer] Don't forget that people now view Gen Prem as a very weak person who does not dare make a decision. If Gen Prem wants to gain the trust of the people in order to extend the government's term in office, he must dare to make decisions and dare to act. That is, when he returns from abroad, he must sack Gen Athit. That would show that he is strong. If he did that, everything would calm down. The military would be quiet. Neither the military nor the political parties would dare do anything.

But just sacking Gen Athit will not solve all the problems. The government must take other action as well, such as reshuffling the cabinet or solving the economic problems. There must be greater vigor. Otherwise, things will collapse.

[Question] What is Gen Prem like?

[Answer] I don't think that Gen Prem really wants to remain prime minister. But he may do so because of his feeling that there is no one suited to replace him. There is no one qualified to replace him. And so he is probably thinking of staying on until a suitable replacement can be found. People are now saying, "just a little while longer." But that can go on and on.

[Question] What about the things that Gen Prem has done?

[Answer] I think that he has made mistakes since the very beginning. He appointed the wrong people to serve him as advisors. He likes to appoint experts, or younger people, as advisors. Most of these people are frightened by their position and are afraid of their responsibilities. Because of this, they don't dare make certain recommendations, even though they are the proper ones, because this would pose a danger to them. They are afraid of angering their boss. And so they ignore the problems. They ignore things until it becomes impossible to solve the problems.

During the period of Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat, most of his advisors were retired officials, such as Luang Wichitwathakan. Whenever a problem arose, those people did not hesitate to make recommendations. They were not afraid to oppose what was wrong. But Gen Prem likes to be praised. He does not like arguments and does not like to be criticized either by people in the government or in parliament.

[Question] What is Gen Athit like?

[Answer] Gen Athit advanced too rapidly. His military base is weak; he does not enjoy great prestige among the soldiers. He has put fellow classmates in top positions, but APS [Army Preparatory School] Class 5 is not the only officer class. There are many officers at lower echelons. Because these junior classes no longer support him, he does not have a power base. But actually, Gen Athit is more loyal to his friends than is Gen Prem.

But now, he is up against the wall. He is being attacked in leaflets. I think that these are being disseminated by other soldiers. He is under severe

criticism. He is trying to prepare a White Paper to respond to the criticisms and to explain things. There are rumors that CRMA Class 5 does not support him because they want Gen Sitthi to become prime minister.

[Question] What is the military's present situation like?

[Answer] Things are terrible. Things are much different than before. In the past, soldiers did not go out of their chain of command. They respected the "seniority" system. People were promoted in order of seniority.

But now, soldiers are like policemen. Those adept at fawning over their boss are apt to be promoted. The good thing is that they do not pay bribes as do policemen. Because of this situation, people forget their subordinates. And so when something happens, their subordinates won't obey them. Because their superiors are too far removed from them, they won't help them.

The disunity in the military also stems from the politicians and political parties. Some say that the military is destroying the political parties. But I don't agree. I think that it is the politicians who are destroying the military. They want to create splits in the military so that they will have a chance to rise in power. When there are splits, they will try to tempt the military. And some soldiers will take the bait. This will cause even wider splits. This is the plan of the leader of the largest political party that is now in the coalition government.

[Question] What is Lt Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut like?

[Answer] Big Chiu is a very clever man. He uses his brain. He has had to do this because he has never commanded troops. He has not had any forces at his disposal. Instead, he has had to rely on his wits. It's like a small child at school. He is not strong enough to beat them in a fight and so he has to use his wits. The small boy is said to be clever because he is always thinking. The same is true of Big Chiu.

[Question] What will things be like if Lt Gen Chawalit becomes the RTA CINC.

[Answer] There will probably be an emphasis on politics because he is very astute politically. He knows the politicians and power groups. He knows what is going on.

[Question] And what about Lt Gen Phichit?

[Answer] That is a very common matter. Phichit is a combat commander. He has always commanded forces. He is a better commander. He hasn't had to use his wits. Those who are strong are usually willing to use their strength since they are bigger.

[Question] And if he becomes RTA CINC?

[Answer] He would be skilled at controlling those under his command. The army would be more unified because he has been on this side for a long time. But he would have to be very careful politically. Politics could be his downfall.

[Question] What about Lt Gen Wanchai Ruangtrakun?

[Answer] He is a very intelligent person. He can't be overlooked. He has quietly gone a long way. It is said that he serves Gen Athit.

[Question] What qualities do you think the next leader should have?

[Answer] He must have several qualities. He must be bold. He must be an honest and forthright person who can remain neutral. This is the type of person who can solve the problems of the country and military.

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CSO: 4207/57

THAILAND

SITTHI, PRASONG ON SRV-PLANTED MINES AT BORDER

BK020334 Bangkok Domestic Television Service in Thai 1300 GMT 1 Dec 85

[Text] Foreign Minister Air Chief Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila, National Security Council Secretary General Squadron Leader Prasong Sunsiri, and military officers [on 1 December] made an inspection tour of the border areas under the responsibility of Burapha and Chanthaburi-Trat border defense forces to relay the Foreign Ministry's policy to the military units in the area.

[Begin recording] [Sitthi] The Vietnamese threat from Cambodia still exists despite their pledge not to violate Thai territory or attack the civilian refugee camps in Thailand. Having been briefed on the situation, I can reassure that our military units, government agencies, and people in the area have a plan for the defense of our country's sovereignty. These booby traps have killed our farmers and severed arms and legs of many others. Our military personnel defused these mines which bear Russian markings. There are hundreds of thousands of them being planted on both sides of the Thai-Cambodian border. We are very concerned about this matter.

[Prasong] The Soviet-made booby traps have been planted along the Thai border, especially in Aranyaprathet District of Prachin Buri Province. Farmers have been wounded or killed by such mines in their paddy fields. We have also lost many soldiers to the weapons. We have learned that Vietnam received more than 10,000 such booby traps from the Soviet Union, and they are being used in these areas. The booby traps are very dangerous. According to an officer who briefed the foreign minister on this issue, it is believed that the wooden mines are coated with a certain toxic chemical because the wounds caused by fragments of the mine are very difficult to heal. Authorities are now trying to defuse all the mines in our area. [End recording]

Regarding the Soviet support for Vietnam, Air Chief Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila said that Thailand does not want to be an enemy of the Soviet Union and that the latter should sympathize with small nations.

/6662  
CSO: 4207/92

THAILAND

THAI EDITOR, RIGHT-WING ACTIVIST JAILED FOR INCITING UNREST

HK270928 Hong Kong AFP in English 0839 GMT 27 Nov 85

[Article by Allen Nacheman]

[Text] Bangkok, Nov 27 (AFP)--The editor-publisher of a magazine that published a right-wing activist's stinging criticism of Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon and the activist have been jailed for inciting unrest.

The activist was linked to a right-wing movement of "paramilitary vigilantes" that has been inactive in recent years but, after a failed coup here last September, was rumoured to be returning to the political scene.

Police said Vilai Kiewkasem [name as received], 26, editor-publisher of the weekly CHAT ATHIPATHAI, or NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, surrendered yesterday after an arrest warrant was issued charging her with inciting unrest and threats to national security.

Virasak Thongprasert [name as received], 31, former president of the vocational student center and a leader of the militant right-wing Red Gaurs, or "Red Bulls" movement, was arrested on the same charges last week.

Police said the charges against both were filed under a publishing law that empowers a special police branch to act against publication of political comment it considers as threatening national security and inciting public disturbance.

Conviction on the charges carries a maximum 10-year prison term, police said. They said bail requests for both were pending.

They said Miss Vilai, a public school teacher, had resigned her part-time position with the magazine, but was held responsible for publication of Mr. Virasak's comments because her name appeared on the masthead of the October 26 edition that carried the interview.

The Red Gaurs is described in historical accounts as "a group of ultra-right paramilitary vigilantes...believed to have been organized by the police (in the mid-1970s) as an unofficial auxiliary...to disrupt (leftist) student rallies and break strikes."



The group's estimated 25,000 members were said to have been largely recruited from among unemployed vocational graduates and technical students.

The Red Gaurs played a crucial role in crushing a left-wing student uprising at Bangkok's Thammasat University. The ensuing four days of bloody campus riots culminated in the Oct. 6, 1976 military overthrow of Prime Minister Seni Pramot's government.

The Red Gaurs have been politically inactive in recent years. But in the weeks following the abortive September 8 coup against Prime Minister Prem's government, rumors were rife in Bangkok that the movement would be resurrected.

Mr. Virasak was quoted in the magazine interview as saying Mr. Prem's method of dealing with Thailand's economic problems was "to sit on a mountain top and watch the dogs biting each other."

The activist predicted further unrest.

Another Red Gaurs leader of the 1970s, Somsak Kwanmongkol [name as received], also is in custody after his arrest last week on an unrelated charge of passing a 150,000-baht (5,700 dollars) bad check.

Sources quoted in the press here today said Mr. Somsak was being held at the Special Branch Police Division, where 40 people charged with participating in the September 9 coup attempt are awaiting trial, because police wanted to interrogate him on matters pertaining to the coup.

Officers at the Special Branch declined to comment.

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CSO: 4200/354

THAILAND

SUPREME COMMAND OFFICER ON FIGHTING IN CAMBODIA

BK291024 Bangkok Domestic Service in Thai 1300 GMT 28 Nov 85

[Text] The fighting on the Thai-Cambodian border has intensified lately as the end of the rainy season is approaching. Major General Sihadet Bunnak, deputy director of the Supreme Command Information Office, made the above statement at a press conference held today at Sanam Suapa [Government House].

[Begin Sihadet recording] There has been more activity lately than in September and October because the end of the rainy season is approaching. Vietnam has also moved its forces closer to the Thai border, especially opposite Ta Phraya District in Prachin Buri Province, where Vietnamese troops have been mobilized for operations against DK forces. In the area opposite Pong Nam Ron District, Chanthaburi Province, fighting between Vietnamese soldiers and Khieu Samphan's forces has also erupted. Vietnam has moved heavy weapons to the area to assist in the operations. There is frequent fighting in Ratanamondol. Khieu Samphan's soldiers conduct harassment fire against major Vietnamese positions opposite Pong Nam Ron District in Chanthaburi and opposite Ban Cham Rak in Muang District, Trat Province.

In the interior of Cambodia, especially around Tonle Sap where Vietnam has sent a large number of Vietnamese settlers for occupation, DK forces operate more extensively with the backing of the Cambodian people. Operations by DK forces cover various areas deep inside Cambodia this dry season than last year, as Vietnam will conduct mop-up operations. Moreover, as a result of extensive operations by the DK guerrilla forces, Vietnam's drive along the Thai-Cambodian border will be delayed.

On the political front, Vietnam continues to reject UN resolutions and world opinion calling for Vietnam to withdraw from Cambodia. At the same time it is trying to gain political conditions favorable to its stance by calling for high-level talks between the United States and Vietnam to search for the remains of American MIA's. But as indicated by U.S. leaders, it is unlikely that relations between Vietnam and the United States will improve in the near future unless Vietnam agrees to pull its troops out of Cambodia. [End recording]

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CSO: 4207/92

THAILAND

AIR FORCE DRAFTING PAPER TO DEFEND F-16 PURCHASE

BK011227 Bangkok NAE0 NA in Thai 1 Dec 85 pp 1, 16

[Excerpt] Criticism over military spending centers around the air force because it used a military development budget of \$317,891,000--or about 8.9 billion baht--to buy 12 F-16 fighters.

On this, an air force source told NAE0 NA that in order for those from various sectors who still have doubts over the purchase to better understand it, the air force is drafting a paper to explain the breakdown of funds used to buy the aircraft. The paper will explain the purchase in detail, step by step, including the plan to procure fighters, the military's monetary situation, its combat strategies, and the fighters true capabilities.

The paper will resemble an official "white paper," and will consist of more than 50 pages. The air force is now gathering information. When the paper is finished, it will be presented to General Prem Tinsulanon, prime minister and defense minister; and Gen Athit Kamlang-ek, supreme commander and army command in chief.

The paper will not be released to the general public, but will be used to clarify some points that the people still do not understand.

The source added that the air force has already sent a number of pilots and technicians for training in the United States. Because the cost of the training is very high, the air force can only send personnel in small groups. Some officers will be trained here by U.S. trainers, which is more economical.

The first four F-16 fighters will arrive in Thailand between May and June, 1988; the remaining eight will arrive 2 months later. Meanwhile, Singapore will also obtain its eight F-16 fighters at almost the same time as Thailand.

Foreign newspapers have criticized Thailand for buying the aircraft at a price higher than that paid by the U.S. Government for its own planes. On this, the source said that the U.S. Government bought the aircraft more cheaply because they did not have electronics and some other equipment, such as antimissile and bomb-carrying equipment. This is because the United States uses those fighters inside its own territory, so it is not necessary to install so much

equipment. Also, the United States has many types of aircraft that it can use for different purposes; but we must have fully-equipped planes because we have only a few aircraft and must use them in a worthwhile way. This point will be detailed in the paper.

The source added that the air force has also prepared to defend the country's airspace effectively. It plans to buy radar to detect aircraft crossing into our airspace at low altitudes--ordinary radar that the air force now has cannot detect low-flying aircraft. This radar system, which will cost about 60 million baht, is a mobile one and will be installed at the border.

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CSO: 4207/92

THAILAND

DAILY SAYS TASS REPORTER DENIED WORK PERMIT

BK300822 Bangkok NAEO NA in Thai 30 Nov 85 pp 1, 3

[Text] The USSR Embassy held a meeting of its officials on Friday, 29 November, to discuss a foreign magazine report that a correspondent of the TASS NEWS AGENCY is a spy and his activities have been linked to the Thai labor movement, an embassy spokesman told NAEO NA on the same day.

"We had a meeting to discuss this matter, but nobody knew about it and we still have not been informed by the Thai side. We would like to deny this magazine report categorically," said the spokesman, who wants to remain anonymous.

The Hong Kong-based English-language weekly FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW published in its latest issue on Thursday--which is also available in Thailand--a story that (Sergey Solaviev), a correspondent of the official Soviet news agency TASS has been refused a Thai work permit and is expected to leave the country soon.

The magazine said: "Thai security agencies feel that (Mr Solaviev's) activities--thought to have been linked to the trade union movement--have not been in keeping with his official job, giving rise to suspicions that he is a member of the KGB."

Meanwhile, the FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW also quoted an unidentified Thai official as saying that Solaviev will not be formally expelled and that no deadline has been set for his departure.

"We are stunned to hear such a report. We first learned about this from the newspapers," the Soviet Embassy spokesman said.

Pratchayathawi Tawethikun, deputy director general of the Foreign Ministry's Information Department, said on 29 November that he knew nothing about the report and that the Soviet Embassy still has not explained anything.

The deputy director general of the Information Department added that the Foreign Ministry only handles visa applications for foreign correspondents. The work permit is the responsibility of the Labor Department. Questions

bout extending a work permit to this Soviet correspondent should be directed to the Labor Department.

Labor Department officials could not be contacted for comment on Friday. It was learned in the afternoon that Director General of the Labor Department Chamnan Photchana was on leave.

The correspondent who was the target of the report was also unavailable on Friday. However, an official of the TASS NEWS AGENCY told NAO NA by telephone that Solaviev is about 50 years old and came as bureau chief to Thailand about 5 to 6 months ago to replace Alexander Romanov, who had ended his tour.

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CSO: 4207/92

THAILAND

OFFICIAL VIEWS ASEAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION

BK030309 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 3 Dec 85 p 19

[Text] After 18 years of presence, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as an economic cooperation entity still does not exist, Petroleum Authority of Thailand (PTT) Chairman Dr Chao na Sinlawan told a major energy meeting in Kuala Lumpur yesterday.

"Whatever successes the ASEAN countries can claim in the past, it is the success of individual nations, not of regional cooperation," Dr Chao, also His Majesty the King's privy councillor, said in an address to the Third ASEAN Council on Petroleum (Ascope) Conference which opened yesterday.

"In spite of the hundreds of intra-regional clubs and associations that have been formed and thousands of committee meetings and forums which take place each year, ASEAN economic cooperation has simply not taken off," he said.

Dr Chao, who has hardly been seen making any criticism publicly, was critical about the ASEAN cooperation as he made a plea for increased regional cooperation.

"Although we may have laid the foundations for such cooperation, we have certainly yet to reap the benefit," he added.

"I believe the most basic challenge before us today as a region and as an industry is whether or not we seize the opportunity to dramatically accelerate regional cooperation, especially in economic matters."

The most sensible and, perhaps, only option, he said, is to initiate a new era of more concrete regional cooperation both at the ASEAN level and, in terms of the energy sector, at the Ascope level.

He suggested that changing external conditions make the attainment of much higher levels of regional cooperation imperative.

Regarding ASEAN's energy scene, he said: "We (ASEAN) are the world's largest exporter of natural gas and a major exporter of crude oil, and yet, we

still have a high dependency on imported capital, imported capital equipment and technical expertise in exploration, production and processing.

"We must quickly aim for a higher degree of regional self-sufficiency in each of these areas and we must give Ascope more muscle so that it can explore the feasibility and optimum methods of implementing bilateral and multilateral joint-venture development projects in those areas."

Regarding cooperation among the six ASEAN national oil companies under the banner of Ascope, Dr Chao reported that discussions have been proceeding on a proposal to establish an Ascope task force to explore all possible avenues for intensified cooperation in the region's petroleum industry.

He added that Thailand and Malaysia are in the final stages of negotiating the joint development of hydrocarbons over a Thai-Malaysia offshore boundary. This, he said, serves as an "excellent example of concrete bilateral cooperation."

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CSO: 4200/354



THAILAND

BRIEFS

PREM'S DEVELOPMENT CLAIM 'HIT'--Roi-Et--Leaflets have been circulating in the provincial town protesting at official plans to change the name of the Kula Ronghia (Weeping Kula) plain which stretches across several northeastern provinces. Police said the leaflets, issued by a group called Klum Phalang Prachachon Chao Isan (Northeastern People's Force), denounced the Prime Minister's plan, which he announced at a farm fair on Thung Kula Ronghai on November 23. General Prem Tinsulanon made the suggestion because he felt that Thung Kula Ronghai was no longer an arid and barren plain. He ordered Interior permanent secretary Phisan Munlasatsathon to initiate a public contest to find a new name, the prize being a gold necklace for the winning suggestion. The leaflets said people of the Northeast of various professions and occupations had an emotional bondage with Thung Kula Ronghai, which is regarded as the source of civilisation for a thousand years. "The development effort undertaken so far has not improved the living conditions of the northeast people as was reported to the government. The persons who manage to smile are the minority capitalists who exerted their power and influence to buy up hundreds of rai of land each. The real farmers are still weeping every day because of persecution by influential people, falling rice prices and endless struggles against natural disasters," said the statement. [Text] [Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 6 Dec 85 p 3 BK] /6662

FISHERMEN TO AVOID SRV WATERS--Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila last night renewed his call for Thai fishermen to refrain from entering Vietnamese territorial waters as they run the risk of being captured. ACM Sitthi reiterated the plea after visiting naval forces in Trat Province yesterday as part of a dry season border inspection tour. He said Thailand has just managed to bring back 307 Thai fishermen captured by Hanoi. ACM Sitthi said naval officers informed him yesterday that there were about 200 who had gone back in. "It is dangerous in there," he said. ACM Sitthi also said that the ministry will try to verify if the Vietnamese are using Soviet-built boats to capture Thai fishermen. He told reporters that a fishing boat owner had told him that Hanoi was using high-powered Soviet-built boats to pursue Thai ships close to Thai territorial waters. [Text] [Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 2 Dec 85 p 3 BK] /6662

COOPERATION ACCORD WITH NORWAY--Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila will visit Norway in March next year to strengthen economic and bilateral ties between the two countries, Norwegian Ambassador to Thailand Peter Motzfeldt said yesterday. Sitthi yesterday signed an agreement on economic, maritime, industrial and technical cooperation and trade between Thailand and Norway with Motzfeldt on behalf of their respective governments. Sitthi said that although economic relations between Thailand and Norway are still limited, "great possibilities exist for expansion and diversification." The agreement, Sitthi added, is an important "milestone" in the history of friendly relations between the two peoples. He said that cooperation in economic, trade, maritime affairs, industry and technology could certainly contribute to each other's progress and prosperity. The joint committee on economic cooperation will meet soon to discuss ways to implement the agreement and promotion of economic ties between the two countries. [Text] [Bangkok THE NATION in English 3 Dec 85 p 3 BK] /6662

WORKING AT IRAQI AIRBASES WARNING--The Labour Department yesterday warned Thais not to work as security guards at military airbases in Iraq to avoid giving Iran the impression that they are part of the Iraqi armed forces. The Overseas Thai Workers Administration Office said some newspapers recently ran advertisements for Thai workers to work in Iraq. They gave the address of a former Thai air force officer for contact. It said applicants found that they were to become security guards at Iraqi military bases and asked the Labour Department to investigate it. The office said the Labour Department had learned that the recruitment was being carried out illegally and warned would-be applicants that they might be cheated. [Text] [Bangkok THE NATION in English 3 Dec 85 p 3 BK] /6662

SRV ARTILLERY SHELLINGS ALONG BORDER--Ta Phraya--More than 15 rounds of Vietnamese artillery landed on Thai territory here following a heavy battle between the Vietnamese and Kampuchean resistance forces, a military source said. The Vietnamese began pre-dawn bombardment at two resistance bases close to the Thai border. After the bombardment which lasted nearly two hours, a resistance soldier was killed and another seriously wounded, the source said. [Text] [Bangkok BANGKOK WORLD in English 30 Nov 85 p 3 BK] /6662

PRC'S YAO YILIN DEPARTS--Thai Prime Minister General Prem Tinsulanon yesterday urged China to buy more Thai goods. Gen Prem made the appeal during talks with Chinese Vice Prime Minister Yao Yilin and his delegation who arrived in Bangkok yesterday. During their meeting, both Thai and Chinese leaders expressed satisfaction over the existing good relations between Thailand and China. The Thai prime minister also urged China to buy more Thai goods. The Chinese vice prime minister left Bangkok today. [Text] [Bangkok Voice of Free Asia in English 1500 GMT 26 Nov 85 BK] /6662

CONTINUING COMMUNIST THREAT WARNING--Surin--Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon yesterday urged the military and police to continue efforts to check the growth of the Communist Party of Thailand (CPT), which he said will not halt its subversive activities. The premier who was flown by helicopter from Nakhon Ratchasima to this northeastern border province was delivering a speech to a gathering of military troops, police officials and defence volunteers. He was also there to distribute basic necessities to them. He said

he was happy to visit the border province, which is ruled by a strong and competent governor, and urged the military and the people to be united to ward off both internal and external threats. The situation on the border was not so grave as was the case 14-15 years ago, but the authorities and people should not lower their guard, he said. He called on them to keep a close watch on communist activities and seek ways of checking their growth. The CPT, he said, has not given up its effort to undermine the nation. Gen Prem also called on the military and police to devote themselves to the security and the good of the people. Military duties are not restricted to the battlefield only and soldiers should bear in mind their duty to contribute to the well-being of the people, he said. [Text] [Bangkok THE NATION in English 1 Dec 85 p 1 BK] /6662

DIPLOMATIC TIES ESTABLISHED WITH BOTSWANA--The Thai Foreign Ministry issued a press release today announcing the establishment of diplomatic relations between Thailand and Botswana. The press release states: Being desirous of promoting the existing friendly relations between the Kingdom of Thailand and the Republic of Botswana, the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand and the Government of the Republic of Botswana, on the basis of equality, mutual respect, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs, have agreed to establish normal diplomatic relations between them as from 29 November 1985 and to exchange diplomatic representatives at the ambassadorial level. [Text] [Bangkok Voice of Free Asia in English 1500 GMT 29 Nov 85 BK] /6662

KING GREETES LPDR PRESIDENT--On the occasion of the LPDR National Day, 2 December, his majesty the king has sent a message of congratulations to the LPDR president. The message reads: On the occasion of the LPDR National Day, I would like to extend my greetings and best wishes for your happiness as well as for the Lao people's prosperity. [Text] [Bangkok Domestic Service in Thai 1300 GMT 2 Dec 85 BK] /6662

CSO: 4207/92

COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

AFP REPORTS FURTHER ON CAMBODIAN 'COCKTAIL PARTY' TALKS

HK021651 Hong Kong AFP in English 1431 GMT 2 Dec 85

[Text] Bangkok, 2 December (AFP)--Thai Foreign Minister Sithi Shwetsila said today the association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) will stick to a proposal it has extended to Vietnam calling for "proximity talks" between the Khmer resistance and Hanoi in a search for a settlement of the Cambodian conflict.

Mr. Sithi told reporters ASEAN senior officials yesterday agreed to pursue the offer, after a weekend meeting in the Thai northern city of Chiangmai.

The agreement came as a proposal for a less formal gathering of warring Cambodian factions with Vietnamese officials is gaining momentum among ASEAN members, observers noted.

Indonesia has offered to host a "cocktail party" with the conflicting sides as earlier suggested by Khmer resistance leader Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

The Thai foreign minister said yesterday he had "no objection" to the informal gathering of Hanoi officials with representatives of the three factions of the United Nations-recognized Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, and of the Cambodian Government installed in Phnom Penh by Vietnamese forces in January 1979.

But Thai Foreign Minister spokesman Sawanit Kongsiri today said his country had yet to adopt a formal stand on the "cocktail party" proposal.

Vietnam, which has maintained an estimated 150,000-170,000 troops in Cambodia since invading that country late in 1978, has de facto rejected the proposal for indirect talks such as endorsed by ASEAN in July.

But Hanoi has indicated it would favour talks between its client government and the three resistance groups--the Beijing-backed Khmer Rouge, the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF) led by Son Sann and the Sihanoukists--provided the "elimination" of the Khmer Rouge as a political and military organisation is discussed.

Prince Sihanouk's initial offer was for a gathering of all countries concerned in the Cambodian crisis, including China and the Soviet Union.

His representative's office here reiterated in a communique issued last week that the offer was for "all parties involved" to meet and talk in an "informal environment" as a first step "which may lead to formal talks," an oblique reference apparently contradicting the Indonesian idea to exclude China and the Soviet Union.

Mr. Stthi told reporters today his Indonesian counterpart Mokhtar Kusumatmadja would stop over there on 20 December after a visit to Australia on his way to Hanoi for more discussions on the Cambodian issue.

Mr. Mokhtar has been made the representative of the ASEAN grouping--which includes Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand--in contacts with Vietnam.

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CSO: 4212/28

COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

VODK COMMENTARY ATTACKS LE DUAN POSITION

BK010402 (Clandestine) voice of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2330 GMT  
30 Nov 85

[Station commentary: "Le Duan, the Wolf in Sheep's Clothing, Again Tries to Fool People About the Settlement of Regional Problems"]

[Text] During a meeting with the visiting Indian prime minister in Hanoi, Le Duan said that time is now ripe for all countries in Southeast Asia to hold specific negotiations in order to settle the outstanding problems in the region. What problems are there in the region at present? What is the root cause of these problems? The world's public opinion is well aware of these questions. Vietnam itself is also aware.

The problems in the region at present are nothing but the war of aggression and genocide being waged by Vietnam in Cambodia. Because the Hanoi authorities sent hundreds of thousands of their troops to attack, invade, and occupy Cambodia, the whole nation of Cambodia has been ravaged by the flames of war, the Thai border region has become constantly tense and explosive, and Thailand and the rest of Southeast Asia have also been permanently threatened by a spillover of this war of aggression of the Vietnamese authorities. Therefore, the whole of Southeast Asia lives in a permanent state of tension and insecurity.

In this connection, the whole world, especially the countries in the region and countries having concerns in the region, have helped in seeking a solution to this dilemma for the past seven years by demanding that Vietnam unconditionally withdraw all its troops from Cambodia in conformity with the UN resolutions, for it is understood that provided Vietnam completely withdraws from Cambodia, allowing the Cambodian people to determine their own destiny, the Cambodian question would be settled and the tense situation in the region would also be automatically eliminated. However, who is the one who refuses to settle this problem? It is no one else but Vietnam itself.

For nearly seven years, the Hanoi authorities have stubbornly opposed the call of the international community and the resolutions of the United Nations and have continued to send additional troops and arms to Cambodia every season and every year in a bid to carry on their insolent military occupation of Cambodia and to make a Vietnamese province out of Cambodia.

Now, Le Duan, the wolf in sheep's clothing, pretends to appeal to all people to hold negotiations to settle problems in the region, feigning to cherish peace and champion the peace cause. Nevertheless, no matter how hard he tries to hide his fangs and claws, Le Duan the wolf has not been able to hide his true colors, for Hanoi at present is being utterly exposed, denounced, and condemned all over the world. Vietnam is being condemned for occupying Cambodia, massacring the Cambodian people, and violating the principles of the UN charter, international law, and the Nonaligned Movement. It is accused of swallowing Laos, of causing a massive outflow of refugees, of violating and intruding into Thai territory, of sabotaging peace and stability in Southeast Asia, and so on. These crimes by the Hanoi authorities as listed above are extremely serious. Le Duan cannot use this wolf-in-sheep's-clothing appeal to conceal or mitigate his crimes.

People wonder that if Vietnam really wants to settle the problems in the region, why it does not withdraw its troops from Cambodia as demanded by the international community and the UN resolutions? The world has wanted to settle the Cambodian question politically, and the plan to solve this problem is very much in existence in the form of the UN resolutions, the declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea, and the various proposals successively put forth by the ASEAN countries. Once Vietnam withdraws from Cambodia, the Cambodian question as well as the problems in the region would be automatically settled.

Therefore, in summary, the fate of regional problems is in Vietnam's hands, for Vietnam is the root cause of all problems. If Vietnam really has the goodwill to settle problems, Vietnam must respect the UN resolutions by unconditionally withdrawing all its troops from Cambodia. There is no need for it to trot around making misleading appeals. Should the Hanoi authorities stubbornly refuse to pull out of Cambodia, the world will continue to condemn them and to bring joint pressure to bear on them in concert with the struggle waged directly on the battlefield to force Vietnam to settle the Cambodian question politically by withdrawing all its troops from Cambodia in accordance with the UN resolutions.

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CSO: 4212/28

COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

VODK NOTES THAILAND REJECTS SRV TERRITORY CLAIMS

BK010438 (Clandestine) Voice of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2330 GMT  
30 Nov 85

["News commentary": "Thailand Rejects Vietnam's Statements Redefining its Territorial Waters and Airspace"]

[Text] The BANGKOK POST newspaper reported in its 23 November issue that on 22 November the Thai Government rejected the Hanoi authorities' claims on the so-called historical waters and on the redefining of Vietnam's sovereignty over its territorial sea and airspace extending from the Gulf of Tonkin to the Gulf of Thailand. This rejection stressed that the statement redefining the Vietnamese territorial sea and airspace was made in an agreement on 7 July 1982 between Vietnam and its Phnom Penh puppets and was circulated as an official document on 12 November 1982. Vietnam also issued a statement defining its airspace on 5 June 1984. Through this rejection, the Thai government stressed that the Vietnamese puppet regime in Phnom Penh does not represent and cannot be considered to represent Cambodia in any matter whatsoever and the United Nations does not recognize it. Therefore, any agreement or declaration purported to be concluded or made by this puppet regime is utterly devoid of any legal value.

We would like to recall that the CGDK has successively rejected all these so-called agreements which are simply and merely fabricated by Vietnam. These so-called agreements show that the Vietnamese aggressors are inventing various statements to confuse and cloud the mind of the Cambodian people and the world in their attempt to grab Cambodia's territorial sea and islands, including Kaoh Seh south of Kaoh Thmei, Kaoh Pring, Kaoh Tang, and Kaoh Wai and part of the territorial waters of Thailand. Therefore, all territorial sea south of these islands is swallowed by Vietnam. Nevertheless, no matter how ingenious the Vietnamese mind is in fabricating these statements, the Cambodian people and the justice-loving countries the world over categorically refuse to accept the expansionist and land-grabbing acts of these Vietnamese aggressors, for they have no right to seize Cambodia's sea and islands at will. On the contrary, these acts of the Vietnamese aggressors have more clearly exposed their aggressive, expansionist, land-grabbing, and genocidal nature on the international stage as more Cambodians are rising up in struggle with every passing day, together with the all-sided pressure brought to bear on the

Vietnamese aggressors by the international community, forcing them to unconditionally withdraw all their aggressive forces from Cambodia in accordance with the past seven UN resolutions.



COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

SIHANOUK'S THANKS MESSAGE TO TOGOLESE PRESIDENT

BK300446 (Clandestine) Voice of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2330 GMT  
29 Nov 85

[18 November "message of thanks from Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, president of Democratic Kampuchea, to His Excellency Gnassingbe Eyadema, president of the Republic of Togo"]

[Text] Your Excellency:

On behalf of the Cambodian people and the CGDK and in my own name, I would like to express most profound thanks to you for the firm and active support that Your Excellency and the Togolese Government and people have given us in our struggle for survival and national liberation.

The Togolese Government's decision to cosponsor the draft resolution on the Cambodian situation and the important addresses regarding the Cambodian problem made before the UN General Assembly by His Excellency Koffi Amega, Minister of foreign affairs and cooperation, and His Excellency Dr (Kwam Kussey) [name as heard], permanent representative of the Republic of Togo to the United Nations, have greatly contributed to enabling this year's UN resolution on Cambodia to be approved by an unprecedentedly high majority vote.

This noble support, which we will never forget and which has been given us in this most difficult circumstance of our history, is proof of sincere friendship and solidarity.

The Cambodian people and the CGDK pledge to strengthen further and expand the fraternal relations between our two peoples and countries.

Please accept my highest fraternal regards.

[dated] 18 November 1985

/12913  
CSO: 4212/28

COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

CLANDESTINE RADIOS REPORT BATTLEFIELD ACTIVITIES

Battle Results for November

BK040222 (Clandestine) Voice of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea in  
Cambodian 2315 GMT 3 Dec 85

[November battle results from battlefields throughout the country]

[Text] 1. Koh Kong-Kompong Som battlefield: 146 Vietnamese soldiers killed  
and 130 wounded. Total: 276 casualties.

2. Leach battlefield: 120 killed and 77 wounded. Total: 197 casualties.

3. Samlot battlefield: 113 killed and 146 wounded. Total: 259 casualties.

4. Pailin battlefield: 308 killed and 463 wounded. Total: 771 casualties.

5. South Sisophon battlefield: 84 killed and 73 wounded. Total: 157  
casualties.

6. North Sisophon battlefield: 78 killed and 89 wounded. Total: 167  
casualties.

7. Battlefields around Battambang town: 64 killed and 80 wounded. Total:  
144 casualties.

8. Siem Reap-Route 6 battlefield: 182 killed and 121 wounded. Total: 303  
casualties.

9. Preah Vihear battlefield: 22 killed and 25 wounded. Total: 47  
casualties.

10. Kompong Thom-Kompong Cham battlefield: 161 killed and 196 wounded.  
Total: 357 casualties.

11. MOUNG-Pursat battlefield: 56 killed and 49 wounded. Total: 105  
casualties.

12. Kompong Chhnang battlefield: 155 killed and 168 wounded. Total: 323  
casualties.

13. Northwestern Phnom Penh battlefield: 29 killed and 25 wounded. Total: 54 casualties.
14. Tonle Sap battlefield: 28 killed and 20 wounded. Total: 48 casualties.
15. Southwestern battlefield: 128 killed and 163 wounded. Total: 291 casualties.
16. Northeast-Eastern battlefield: 20 killed and 25 wounded. Total: 45 casualties.

In sum, in November, we killed 1,694 Vietnamese soldiers and wounded 1,850 others for a total of 3,544 casualties.

#### Activities of Non-Communist Forces

BK010925 (Clandestine) Voice of the Khmer in Cambodian 0500 GMT 1 Dec 85

[Text] The following is a report on some of the military activities of the non-communist resistance forces of the Cambodian coalition government:

A Voice of the Khmer Radio reporter inside Cambodia reports that on 5 November, our combatants attacked a Vietnamese position in Chamnaom village, Mongkolborei District, Battambang Province, killing 7 Vietnamese soldiers and wounding 18 others. On 8 November, our combatants attacked a Vietnamese enemy position in Sangha village, Sisophon District, Battambang Province. After a tough battle, our troops seized and occupied the enemy position. We killed three Vietnamese soldiers and wounded six others. Our combatants seized some military materiel and documents.

According to a report from Thjmar Puok District, on 11 November our combatants fought with a group of Vietnamese soldiers near Damnak Kakaoh, Thmar Puok District, Battambang Province. Three Vietnamese soldiers were wounded and the rest fled the battle scene. On 17 November, our combatants fought a Vietnamese battalion of brigade [Kangpol] No. 75 in an area 5 km west of Preav village, Thmar Puok District. Vietnamese troops used 60-mm and 82-mm mortars to support their colleagues. This battle lasted for two hours. Five enemy soldiers were killed and four others were wounded. Four of our combatants were killed and five others were wounded. On 17 November, our combatants [word indistinct] 300 Vietnamese soldiers in an area 4 km north of Prasatltveng village, Preah Net Preah District, Battambang Province. Two Vietnamese soldiers were killed on the spot and a number were wounded. Our combatants suffered no casualties and returned safely to their base. On 20 November, our combatants attacked a Vietnamese platoon in an area 3 km west of Soeng village, Sisophon District, Battambang Province. Our combatants killed two Vietnamese soldiers, wounded a number of others, and destroyed a B-40.

According to a report from Oddar Meanchey Province, on 17 November non-communist Cambodian resistance troops attacked a battalion of Vietnamese and Heng Samrin soldiers in Kouk Khpos village, Ampil District. Five Vietnamese

soldiers were killed and a number of others were wounded. Seven of our combatants were wounded. On 18 November, our combatants attacked 20 Vietnamese soldiers who were ready to rob Cambodian villagers in an area between Cheung Pean and Chongkal villages, Samraong District, Oddar Meanchey Province. Our combatants killed a Vietnamese soldier and wounded a number of others. We seized two AK-47's and a pistol. Our combatants suffered no casualties.

Our correspondent reported that on 14 November, our combatants attacked a Vietnamese platoon position in Kambao village, Kralanh District, Siem Reap Province. We killed 7 Vietnamese soldiers and wounded 18 others.

These activities have shown that non-communist resistance forces of the Cambodian coalition government have intensified their guerrilla attacks against Vietnamese aggressor troops.

#### Kompong Cham Town Captured

BK010204 (Clandestine) Voice of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2315 GMT 30 Nov 85

[From the "battle report from various battlefields"]

[Excerpt] At 0500 on 28 November we attacked Speu town in Chamka Leu District, Kompong Cham battlefield, in three prongs. The first prong hit Speu town, the second dispersed and dismantled the Vietnamese administration in Speu commune, and the third attacked the Vietnamese enemy's company position at Lar Thyung, the defense system of Speu town. After 30 minutes of fighting, we completely liberated and occupied the three targets.

We killed five Vietnamese soldiers, including two company commanders, and wounded 10 others, destroyed seven AK's, two B-40's, two commune office buildings, one trade warehouse, one rice depot with 200 sacks of rice and 50 sacks of salt, one truck, six barracks, and some war materiel; and seized two pistols, one 60-mm mortar, 11 AK's, one B-40, 10 60-mm mortar shells, 300 rounds of AK ammunition, 20 handgrenades, five rucksacks, nine hammocks, and some war materiel. We liberated seven villages, namely Speu Khang Kauet, Speu Khang Lech, Ampeuo Meas Khang Tbong, Ampeuo Meas Khang Cheung, Veal, Ta Treng, and O Veach.

#### Resistance Forces' Activities

BK021233 (Clandestine) voice of the Khmer in Cambodian 1100 GMT 1 Dec 85

[Text] According to impartial reports, the Cambodian Coalition Government forces launched a number of attacks against Vietnamese troops in October. The following is a report on these attacks:

Fifty combatants of the Cambodian Coalition Government destroyed a bridge in Phnum Srok District [Battambang Province]. This bridge was seriously destroyed and cannot be repaired for further use.

The forces of the Cambodian Coalition Government fired rockets at various Vietnamese military bases in Battambang Province, killing a Vietnamese soldier and wounding 12 others. They also destroyed a bridge.

The Cambodian Coalition Government forces ambushed Vietnamese troops at Toek Krau village, killing three Vietnamese soldiers and wounding three others. They seized two weapons. They attacked Vietnamese troops stationed near (Ta Krau) bridge, east of (Ponhea Krek) village, Ratanamondol District [Battambang Province], killing two Vietnamese soldiers and wounding two others. One day later, they ambushed Vietnamese troops near Battambang District, killing four Vietnamese soldiers and wounding another. The resistance troops seized a weapon. The next day, they ambushed a number of Vietnamese troops at (Ta Roearng) village, killing four Vietnamese soldiers and wounding three others. The resistance forces seized a weapon.

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COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

BRIEFS

SANN VISITS EVACUATION SITE--Tak Phraya--Prime Minister of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK) Son Sann yesterday visited a major Kampuchean evacuation site on the Thai border. Son Sann, who is also the leader of the Khmer People's National Liberation Forces (KPNLF), one of the three partners in the CGDK, told reporters he thought the Vietnamese troops are unlikely to attack Site 2 camp which houses more than 130,000 Kampucheans. He said Site 2 is located in Thai territory and the people in the site are all civilians, mostly women and children. He said since there are no Khmer fighters in the camp, if the Vietnamese attack Site 2, it means they also violate Thai territory. Son Sann said if there will be fighting between Vietnamese soldiers and the Khmer resistance forces, it should take place inside Kampuchea. He added his KPNLF fighters have moved into Kampuchean interior to engage in guerrilla warfare with the Vietnamese troops. Site 2 is now the largest Khmer civilian camp on the border. Its inhabitants are those who were moved from Prasat Sabaeng, Ampil, Talok, Ritthisen and Prey Chan when the Vietnamese attacked the Khmer resistance camps during the last dry season offensive. [Text] [Bangkok THE NATION in English 2 Dec 85 p 2 BK] /12913

DIEN DEL STRESSES DISCIPLINE--General Dien Del, chief of Cambodian noncommunist resistance forces, told the resistance fighters that we should increase our guerrilla attacks against Vietnamese aggressor forces this year. However, he stressed that it is necessary to increase discipline among army ranks. General Dien Del said this at a meeting attended by commanding officers from base 1204 and commanders from all battalions, companies, and all personnel of this military base. General Dien Del called this meeting to brief all officers on various plans to attack and resist the Vietnamese offensive this dry season. The general said we should increase our guerrilla attacks inside the country. Concerning discipline, he said, all combatants should strengthen their discipline because this is most important for defeating the Vietnamese aggressors and winning the people's support. [Text] [(Clandestine) Voice of the Khmer in Cambodian 1300 GMT 2 Dec 85 BK] /12913

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MILITARY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC SECURITY

VAN TIEN DUNG ON SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, NATIONAL DEFENSE

Hanoi TAP CHI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese Aug 85 pp 12-33, 53

[Article by Senior General Van Tien Dung: "The Nationwide Socialist Revolution and the Task of Building the National Defense System of All the People"]

[Text] Editorial Note: with the aim of helping cadres in and outside the army gain a thorough understanding and successfully organize the performance of the task of building the national defense system of all the people--which is a major aspect of the party's military line--Senior General Van Tien Dung, member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and minister of national defense, has written a number of articles on the subject: "Building a Solid and Strong National Defense System of All the People and Firmly Defending the Socialist Vietnamese Fatherland."

These articles deal with the following matters:

The nationwide socialist revolution and the task of building the national defense system of all the people; the major elements involved in building the national defense system of all the people; closely combining economic construction with the strengthening of the national defense system; closely combining national defense and security; and implementing the mechanism "the party leads, the state manages and the people exercise ownership" in the building of the national defense system.

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the August Revolution and National Day, 2 September, and with the permission of Van Tien Dung, TAP CHI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN respectfully presents to its readers his article on "The Nationwide Socialist Revolution and the Task of Building the National Defense System of All the People."

I. The Two Strategic Tasks of the Vietnamese Revolution and the Necessity of Strengthening the National Defense System

The resolution of the 4th Party Congress pointed out: "With the total victory of the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, the Vietnamese revolution entered a new stage, the stage in which the entire country is independent, is reunified and performing the single strategic task

of carrying out the socialist revolution and advancing rapidly, strongly and steadily to socialism."(1) The congress also pointed out: "In conjunction with building the country in every respect, we must redouble our efforts to build a national defense system of all the people that is solid and strong, build the people's armed forces and build the national defense industry to insure that the country is always ready to defeat each attack by the aggressors."(2)

On the basis of developments in the domestic and world situations during the period following the 4th Congress of the Party, especially in the face of the adoption by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists of a policy hostile toward our country's revolution, the 5th Party Congress again asserted: "Our country is in a situation in which it is at peace but must contend with a wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists; at the same time, we must be ready to deal with a situation in which the enemy could launch a large-scale war of aggression."(3) The congress went on to point out that our people must "make every effort to perform their two strategic tasks. The first is to successfully build socialism. The second is being ready to fight and firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland."(4) The 4th and 5th Congresses, while presenting the line on the socialist revolution and the line on building the socialist economy, also raised many basic matters concerning the military line during the period of building and defending the fatherland.

Under the light of the resolutions of the party congresses and on the basis of the development of the situation and tasks of the revolution, the Party Central Committee, Political Bureau, Military Commission of the Party Central Committee and National Defense Commission of the Party have issued many resolutions with the aims of gradually concretizing the military line, promptly pointing out the schemes and actions of the enemy and correctly defining, in a manner consistent with the situation during each period, the military task and guidelines of our armed forces and people in the areas of building and strengthening the national defense system, strengthening the people's armed forces, maintaining combat readiness and fighting the enemy. At the same time, the party has provided very correct and effective strategic guidance in the various war situations that have arisen. This is the most important reason why the strength that our people bring to defending the country has been constantly increased and why we won large victories in the two wars to defend the fatherland on the southwestern and northern borders against the forces of the Chinese aggressors and their lackeys, the reactionaries. Today, this strength is also insuring our people of victory in their struggle against the enemy's war of encroachment and occupation along the border and their cunning wide-ranging war of sabotage, insuring that they will firmly defend independence, freedom and socialism, maintain security for national construction and fulfill their international obligation to the two fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia.

Thus, ever since the total victory of the resistance against the United States for national salvation, our party has consistently maintained that, having embarked on the period of carrying out the socialist revolution nationwide, our people must have a thorough understanding of and properly perform both strategic tasks, building the country and defending the fatherland.



Looking back over the past 10 years, surely there is not one among us who fails to realize that, following the great victory won in the spring of 1975 and in the face of the exceedingly malicious and insidious schemes of our new enemy, had we allowed ourselves to be taken with ecstasy over that victory, had we relaxed our vigilance and not alertly or promptly attached proper importance to the need to strengthen the nation's defenses in conjunction with building the country, we surely would not have been able to win the large victories that we did in the two wars that were fought to defend the fatherland, the consequences of which upon the destiny of our nation as well as the other countries of Indochina would have been difficult to predict.

Building the country in conjunction with defending it is the law by which our nation has survived and developed over the course of its 4,000 year history. Under current world conditions, with imperialism and reactionary powers still in existence on our planet, this is also the law by which each independent country survives. Building socialism in conjunction with defending the socialist fatherland is a universal law of the socialist revolution. We must have a truly clear understanding of our country's situation and not relax for one moment our efforts to strengthen the national defense system and defend the country while attaching foremost importance to the task of building socialism.

We are living in an age that is basically characterized by the transition from capitalism to socialism, which began with the great October Socialist Revolution. The struggle between the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress and the forces of imperialism and counter-revolution is an exceedingly difficult, bitter and complex struggle that is taking place throughout the world, especially within many regions of the world.

In the world, imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists, acting from a position that is weak in every respect and frightened by the growth of the three revolutionary currents, is reassembling its forces, making adjustments to its global counter-revolutionary strategy and conducting a frantic crusade against revolutionary forces. They have raised their bellicose policy to a new level of intensity, thus making the world political situation very tense. With the aim of achieving military superiority over the community of socialist countries and fulfilling their role as the international gendarme, the U.S. imperialists are intensifying the nuclear arms race on a scale unprecedented, especially the arms race in space. They have accelerated the deployment of medium-range missiles in western Europe and pressured imperialist allies into joining efforts with the United States in a program to "research systems designed to retaliate against intercontinental missiles," which they call the "Strategic Defense Initiative"(SDI), that is, "Star Wars," thus facing mankind with the danger of a destructive nuclear war. They have been taking urgent steps to strengthen their reactionary military alliances, have continued to establish and expand military base systems within the territory of many other countries and have accelerated their preparations for a nuclear war and even a conventional war with a view mainly toward opposing the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. They are pursuing a belligerent foreign policy and have combined this policy with a policy of negotiating from a position of strength.

With the aim of blocking the national liberation movement and preventing those countries that have won their independence from following the path to socialism, the U.S. imperialists, in coordination with lackey reactionaries, are carrying out a frenetic counter-offensive against the national liberation movement, one that has involved many local wars of aggression, many acts of military intervention, the overthrow of many governments and the occupation of many areas in many regions of the world.

In Asia-the Pacific, the U.S. imperialists have strengthened the military forces of the United States and encouraged the rearming of Japan and the restoration of Japanese militarism. They have strengthened the U.S.-Japan-South Korea military alliance in Northeast Asia and the ANZUS bloc in the southwestern Pacific; increased their presence in South Asia and the Indian Ocean; strengthened and expanded the systems of military bases in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf; and intensified their collaboration with China and their use of the "China card." Recently, the White House announced the so called "Asia-Pacific strategy," a strategy which views the Asia-Pacific region as a "region of vital interest," as "the region of the 21st century," as the second most important military front behind western Europe in the global counter-revolutionary strategy of the United States.

Southeast Asia is viewed by the United States as a very important strategic link in its Asia-Pacific strategy. They have put renewed efforts behind their plan to "return" to Southeast Asia. They have been making every effort to win over and control the ASEAN countries and plotting ways to gradually push the ASEAN bloc into establishing even a military alliance with the United States. They consider Vietnam and the countries of Indochina to be a major obstacle to their sinister schemes in this region. They fear that Vietnam, which served as a shining example and inspired many oppressed nations to arise against colonialism, both old and new, and is today becoming prosperous and strong in the socialist revolution, will give these nations even greater inspiration to follow the socialist path. They maintain that one of the important strategic measures in causing the world to lose confidence in socialism and communism at a time when they lack the strength needed to fight the Soviet Union is to oppose and attack the Vietnamese revolution, the revolutions of the countries of Indochina. The U.S. imperialists have not abandoned their long held plan of opposing and attacking the revolutions of Vietnam and the other countries of Indochina. The White House is pursuing a hostile policy toward our country. They have rejected the establishment of normal relations between the two countries and pursued a policy of encircling and isolating us economically and politically in the international arena. They have been establishing contacts with, supporting, assembling and using lackey reactionary forces within the three countries of Indochina to achieve their evil immediate and long-range objectives. They conspired with the Chinese expansionists in launching the war of aggression against Vietnam in February 1979 and are currently collaborating with China and rightist powers within Thai ruling circles and the ASEAN countries to oppose and attack the Vietnamese revolution.

The Chinese expansionists and hegemonists have long nurtured the insane ambition of becoming a super power and ruler of the world. They have adopted as their policy the expansion of their collaboration with the U.S.

imperialists and the other imperialist powers with the aim of developing their real forces and achieving their sinister expansionist designs. They are devoting their efforts to the "four modernizations" in a vain attempt to quadruple their industrial and agricultural output by the end of this century. They have implemented many domestic policies and programs based on the so called "Chinese-colored" socialism, thereby gradually moving far from the sphere of scientific socialism and continuing to erode and deform the bases of socialism that have been established in China. They are supporting and cooperating with the U.S. imperialists with a view toward opposing the Soviet Union and the community of socialist countries in many different areas and fields of international life. They speak highly of the NATO aggressor military alliance and support and encourage the U.S.-Japan-South Korea military alliance. Their collaboration between China and the United States in the military field in recent years has reached a new level of development as seen in the procurement of weapons and technical equipment, the exchange of intelligence information, the training of cadres and technical personnel... They have employed a variety of cunning foreign affairs tactics with the aim of improving their relations with each socialist country in a vain attempt to use these relations to improve their trade and import technical equipment while undermining the unity of the socialist community. They continue to oppose the Soviet Union but might normalize relations with the Soviet Union to achieve objectives that serve their ends. They will try to use Soviet-U.S. antagonisms to their advantage in a vain attempt to quickly become strong. They will make every effort to woo and win over the Third World in a vain attempt to achieve a controlling position within the bloc of nonaligned countries.

Southeast Asia is the primary direction of expansion in the immediate stage of Chinese expansionism and hegemony. Their unchanging plan is to bring Vietnam and the other countries of Indochina under China's control and use them as a springboard for expansion to the South. However, an independent, unified and staunchly revolutionary Vietnam, a Vietnam that has very close ties to the two countries of Laos and Cambodia with whom it is advancing to socialism, a Vietnam that is united and closely cooperates with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, a Vietnam that is gradually becoming prosperous and strong poses a major obstacle to the expansionist designs of the reactionaries in power in China. Therefore, they have been looking for every way to weaken us and create the conditions for eventually conquering Vietnam and all three countries of Indochina.

Despite having suffered continuous defeats in their scheme of opposing and attacking the three countries of Indochina, they still have not abandoned their expansionist designs. China's strategy and tactics toward Vietnam have not changed at all. While displaying a more "moderate" attitude in their relations with a number of other countries, they have directed even sharper barbs against Vietnam and the other countries of Indochina.

Along our country's northern border, they have raised their military activities to a new level of intensity and been waging a war of encroachment and occupation along the border with the aim of nibbling away at territory of ours and achieving many other sinister objectives. They have continued to intensify their wide-ranging war of sabotage within our country through

increasingly sophisticated and cunning measures and tricks with a view toward weakening us. At the same time, they are still urgently making preparations for a large-scale war of aggression in a vain attempt to annex our country when conditions permit. They have been collaborating ever more closely with the rightist powers within Thai ruling circles, have continuously supported Cambodian reactionary forces and have commanded these forces in the continuing effort to thwart the rebirth of the Cambodian people. Although their lackey reactionary clique recently suffered very heavy defeats during the 1985 dry season at the hands of the armed forces and people of Cambodia assisted by Vietnamese volunteer forces, China has not abandoned its intention of "winning back Cambodia." They are now discussing new plans for "reversing the situation."(!)

In Laos, they pressured the reactionaries in power in Thailand into opening a new front along the Laos-Thai border, thereby grossly violating the tri-village region of Laos, in conjunction with continuing to generate military pressure along the Laos-China border and intensifying their wide-ranging acts of sabotage inside Laos.

They are continuing to conduct malicious activities with the intent to divide Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, to divide the countries of Indochina from the Soviet Union and the other countries within the socialist community. They have sabotaged the trend toward the relaxation of tensions, created a hostile atmosphere between the three countries of Indochina and the ASEAN countries and isolated Vietnam in the international arena.

We have no illusions about a number of changes they are now making in their foreign policy toward some other countries for the sake of their own pragmatic objectives. Our people have much experience in dealing with China, the United States and many enemies. We should, therefore, be very alert. At a time when the revolution is increasingly winning large victories and the enemy is constantly at work on many shrewd schemes, it is even more necessary that we truly have a thorough understanding of what their nature and basic intentions are, that we be extremely vigilant against them in every situation.

In Japan, a country that has a highly developed economy and a strong desire for economic expansion into Southeast Asia, there is a trend toward militarization. Japan has established a close military alliance with the United States and is heading toward military collaboration with China. Consequently, our people must heighten their vigilance.

We must also closely observe and keep abreast of the increasingly close collaboration, collaboration that might eventually evolve into a strategic division of responsibilities and coordination, among the United States, Japan and the other reactionary powers in Southeast Asia within the scheme to oppose and attack the revolutions of the three countries of Indochina. Although the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese expansionists have their own separate intentions and strategic interests with regard to Southeast Asia (these mainly reflect the antagonisms between them), they both consider Vietnam and the alliance of the three countries of Indochina to be major obstacles to their imperialist and expansionist designs, consequently, they are collaborating in a scheme to sabotage and weaken us.

Thus, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists are the immediate, dangerous strategic adversary of our country's revolution, of the revolutions of the countries of Indochina. Imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists, is the basic, long-range strategic adversary of the revolutions of the three countries of Indochina.

The main antagonism in Indochina is the antagonism between national independence and socialism and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers. Indochina has been and is one of the areas of sharpest struggle in the world between the revolution and counter-revolution.

For a long time, the three countries of Indochina have had to contend with a new enemy, the reactionaries within Chinese ruling circles who, acting in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers, have been directly sabotaging national independence and socialism within the three countries.

Our people must clearly and always remember one very important conclusion reached by our party:

As long as Chinese expansionism and hegemony still rule in China, as long as imperialism still exists in the world, our people must continue to display high vigilance and concern themselves with strengthening the national defense system and defending the fatherland.

Our nation made enormous sacrifices to win independence and reunification for the fatherland. Today, living in independence and freedom, our people recall, with the deepest emotions, the tremendous contributions made by the great President Ho Chi Minh and hold his sacred teaching even more deeply in their memory:

"The Hung Kings performed the service of founding the country,  
We must make every effort to defend it."(5)

He also said: "Before today, we only had the nights and the forests. Today, we have the days, the sky, the sea. Our seacoast is long and beautiful, we must keep it that way."(6)

This was also the teaching of V.I. Lenin immediately following the victory of the October Revolution, the significance of which is as timely today as it was then. Lenin said: "From this point onward, with the era of the socialist revolution having begun, that the imperialist countries will constantly attack Soviet Russia militarily is something which, from an historical perspective, cannot be avoided."(7)

Therefore, "without taking up arms to defend the socialist republic, we cannot survive..."(8) "Because it is our policy to defend the socialist fatherland, we demand that a serious attitude be taken toward the issue of national defense capabilities and the issue of preparing the country to fight... Long and serious preparations must be made for this revolutionary war (the war to

defend the socialist fatherland--V.T.D.), beginning by boosting the domestic economy."(9)

Clearly, the two strategic tasks of our country's revolution and the country's situation confirm that building and strengthening the national defense system is both a basic, long-range task and an urgent, pressing task.

## II. Several Major Characteristics of Our Country Related to the Task of Building and Strengthening the National Defense System

1. Our country has not known a stable peace. Slightly more than 3 years after the end of the resistance against the United States for national salvation, our people had to fight two consecutive wars to defend the fatherland, one on the southwestern border and one on the northern border, against aggression by the Chinese reactionaries and their lackeys, the Pol Pot clique. Since then, our country has been at peace but has had to contend with the war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese reactionaries in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and the enemy's war of encroachment and occupation along the border; at the same time, we have had to make preparations for dealing with a large-scale war of aggression that they might launch. Our people also have a large international obligation to the two fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia. Many units of the Vietnamese Volunteer Forces are standing shoulder to shoulder with the armed forces and peoples of the other two countries on the Indochina peninsula in the fight against the various forms of the war of aggression, the war of encroachment and occupation and the war of sabotage of the lackeys of Beijing. Today, following the 30 years of the wars of resistance against France and the United States, wars which were fought under exceedingly difficult and violent conditions, our country must rebuild, must heal the wounds of war and stabilize the living conditions of the people while meeting the requirements of immediate combat tasks. At the same time, we must make preparations for defending the country over the long range. To prepare for war time, we are carrying out national defense work under conditions of less than total peace.

This situation of our country is clearly very different from the situation of many other countries in the world that have the peaceful conditions needed to focus their efforts on building the country and developing the economy, on building the national defense system in peace time with the aim of preparing for war time.

The conditions under which we are currently building the national defense system also differ from the circumstances of our forefathers during preceding periods of prosperity in our nation's history. Between the time of Ngo Quyen's victory at Bach Thang in 938, which restored national independence, and Le Hoan's defeat of the aggressor forces of the House of Song in 981, there were 43 years of peace during which to build the country. This was followed by nearly 100 years during which our nation built a prosperous country and laid the foundation for the brilliant victory won by Le Thuong Kiet over the aggressor forces of the House of Song in the 11th century. Following that victory, our nation had nearly two centuries during which to build a prosperous and strong country in independence and peace, as a result of which we were able to win brilliant victories over the aggressor forces of

the Mong and Yuan on three separate occasions during the 13th century. There was one period during which our nation maintained its independence and prevailed over foreign aggressors for 300 years, from after the victory in the war of liberation led by Le Loi and Nguyen Trai in the 15th century until the resounding feat of arms recorded by Nguyen Hue by defeating the aggressor forces of the House of Qing and Siamese forces in the 18th century.

2. Our country is in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism and the economy is advancing from small-scale production directly to large-scale, socialist production without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. The old scars of an economy ravaged by a long and very fierce war have not completely healed. Now, our country is suffering renewed ravages of war, in addition to which we must meet basic requirements, requirements that are very large and urgent, in all three areas: supporting the daily lives of the people following the war, gradually building the material-technical bases of socialism and meeting national defense and security needs.

Our major difficulty here is that the economy is still predominately a small-scale production economy. This is clearly evident in the following: material-technical bases are still small and underdeveloped, labor is predominately manual labor, labor productivity is low and the division of labor has not been developed. Industry, especially heavy industry, is still small and weak and agriculture is still largely characterized by monoculture. The social product is small and does not meet the everyday needs of the people or the needs of expanded reproduction. It is difficult for such an underdeveloped and unbalanced economy to simply serve the everyday needs of the post-war population of nearly 60 million well, not to mention meet the three basic requirements mentioned above, all of which are large and urgent, at the same time. It can be said that few countries in the world have experienced circumstances as harsh as those now being experienced by Vietnam in building the country and strengthening the national defense system.

Advancing our country's economy from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production without following the path of capitalist development is something totally new for which there is no precedent in history. In addition, we must carry out this work under circumstances in which the enemy has a scheme to very viciously and cruelly sabotage our people's economic construction and socialist construction. There is no other way for our party to successfully perform this historic task than by conducting painstaking research to grasp the essence of the theory of Marxism-Leninism on socialist construction and the building of the socialist economy, studying the wealth of experience of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, understanding the realities of our country's revolution and economy and working while gaining experience and reviewing theory. On this basis, we must discover, recognize and apply the economic laws and those matters that are in the nature of laws of the socialist revolution in our country. One of the major successes achieved by our party in the 10 years of carrying out socialist construction and economic construction throughout the country has been that we have, through independent and creative thinking, gradually come to recognize and learn those matters that are in the nature of laws of the socialist revolution in our country. These matters were presented in condensed form in the general line and the line on building the economy that

were adopted at the 4th and 5th Party Congresses. They were subsequently developed upon and concretized by General Secretary Le Duan as the 10 matters that are in the nature of laws of the socialist revolution in our country, which he presented at the 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee as the basis for resolving the problems involved in improving our economic management.

These matters that are in the nature of laws profoundly control every aspect of our people's work of building socialism and building the economy as well as strengthening the national defense system during the initial stage and throughout the entire period of transition to socialism. Therefore, when resolving each problem encountered in the task of strengthening the national defense system, we must have a thorough understanding of and correctly apply those matters that are part of the line, those matters that are in the nature of laws of the socialist revolution in our country... Only on this basis can we correctly resolve each theoretical and practical problem encountered in the task of strengthening the national defense system and steadily advance our people's cause of defending the fatherland.

3. We are building and strengthening the national defense system under favorable international circumstances, have a close alliance with the revolutions of the two countries of Laos and Cambodia and enjoy the comprehensive cooperation and tremendous assistance of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. The three revolutionary currents of our times have undergone extraordinary growth, are on the offensive and have directed the thrust of the struggle toward imperialism and the other international reactionary powers.

Socialism has become a world system, an international community that possesses modern industry, advanced science and technology and solid, strong national defense forces. Within this system, unity, cooperation and alliance in the spirit of comradeship, equality, mutual assistance and mutual respect among the member countries are increasingly comprehensive in content, increasingly diverse in form and increasingly broad in scale.

In Indochina, the great victory won by our country together with the great victories won by the two countries of Laos and Cambodia led to the formation of an Indochina of three independent countries advancing to socialism together and bound closely to one another within a special alliance to fight the common enemy together and build and defend each country and all three countries together.

The Vietnamese revolution is a part of the world revolution. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a member of the community of socialist countries. Consequently, in the process of carrying out the socialist revolution, our people must take advantage of the favorable international conditions that exist, beginning by expanding their comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and maintaining their special alliance with the two fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia, in order to develop the economy and accelerate the work of building and defending the socialist fatherland. At the same time, we stand shoulder to shoulder with the nations, with the revolutionary and peace movements in the world struggling against



imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese expansionist and hegemonist powers, for the goals of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. In the field of national defense, our people can and must, on the basis of this comprehensive assistance from and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, accelerate the modernization of our national defense forces at a pace that is in keeping with the requirements of our times and precedes the development of our country's economy. In their cooperation and their alliance with Laos and Cambodia, our people are imbued with the teaching of President Ho Chi Minh that "to help friends is to help ourselves."

However, besides favorable circumstances, our socialist revolution is also taking place against a world background and a regional background marked by many complex changes brought about by the reactionary schemes of the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese expansionist powers.

The major characteristics described above control, to a very large degree, our work of building the national defense system of all the people. They face us with many difficulties and contradictions and demand that our people continue to display a very high spirit of struggle and sacrifice. At the same time, we must be very ingenious, must know how to fully utilize and build upon each strength, each new advantage that is ours so that we can adopt suitable lines, guidelines, policies and measures and establish suitable stages of development in order to successfully build the national defense system in conjunction with building socialism and building the country.

Of course, when examining and resolving each national defense issue, we must have a thorough understanding of all the major characteristics of our country's situation since embarking on the socialist revolution nationwide, which were pointed out at the 4th and 5th Party Congresses (both the difficulties and advantages) but not mentioned here.

### III. The Objectives and Essence of Building and Strengthening the National Defense System Within Our Country

The objectives of building and strengthening our national defense system are: to firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland; to help defend the national independence and socialism of the two fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia, defend the outpost of the socialist system in Southeast Asia and safeguard peace in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the world; and to defeat each scheme of aggression and sabotage of our present enemy and be ready to win victory over a war of aggression launched by any enemy in any situation, regardless of which weapons they employ, even weapons of great destructive power.

Today, firmly defending the socialist fatherland means defending the inviolable independence and sovereignty of the nation; defending the fatherland's sacred territorial integrity, which encompasses the country's land, air space, offshore waters and continental shelf; defending the socialist system, the proletarian dictatorship state and the right of socialist collective ownership of the working people; and the right to live

and the creative labor in socialist construction of the people of all nationalities living together within the Vietnamese fatherland.

There are two sides to our people's objectives in building and strengthening the national defense system, both of which must be understood.

On the one hand, we must firmly defend the fatherland and maintain the country's political security even when not faced with a large-scale war of aggression launched by the enemy.

Under the specific conditions of our country today, this means that we must defeat the enemy's war of encroachment and occupation along the border and their wide-ranging war of sabotage, defend the sovereignty and territory of the country, maintain the country's political security, reduce the threat of the enemy launching a large-scale war of aggression and insure that socialist construction is continuously accelerated within a situation that is increasingly stable.

Our people must be highly determined and make very large efforts to defeat these cunning forms of war of the enemy. The Chinese expansionists and hegemonists calculate that the current world and domestic situations as well as China's present military strength prevent them from launching a large-scale war of aggression to annex Vietnam and the other countries of Indochina. Moreover, they cannot be sure of winning victory should they recklessly unleash such a war and the consequences to them cannot be predicted with certainty. Therefore, they feel that the "best policy" is to wear us down over the long range through a war of encroachment and occupation along the border coupled with a war of sabotage so that we are unable to focus our efforts on socialist construction, grow weaker instead of stronger and are thus forced to yield to them. They also feel that this kind of war allows them to use the strengths of a large country (its large population, large military forces, large economic and military potentials) to rule us, a small country, mollify domestic and world opinion and use the flesh and blood of their lackeys to serve their own evil objectives.

On the other hand, we must prepare the country in every respect, prepare the country well and in a way that is planned and build a large, combined national defense capability so that we are ready to win victory over a large-scale war of aggression should the enemy launch such a war.

Our work of building and strengthening the national defense system must also always have the objective of performing our national task well and fulfilling our international obligation well.

In the era of independence and socialism, our people's national defense system embodies the character of the socialist system, of the proletarian dictatorship state, of the system of socialist collective ownership of the working people.

Due to its proletarian character, the socialist state never commits aggression against anyone. Therefore, the purpose of our national defense system is self-defense. It is fundamentally different than the national defense systems

of the imperialist countries and expansionist powers, which are aggressive in character.

Our national defense system in the new era is a national defense system of all the people, a complete, modern and aligned national defense system. This is the nature of our national defense system.

Our national defense system is, above everything else, based on the strength of all the people. All the people perform national defense work, all the people fight to defend the fatherland. This is the strength of the entire heroic nation of Vietnam, the strength of Vietnam's nearly 60 million citizens who have become the masters of the country, the masters of society and are deeply imbued with the truth "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom." And, today, they are continually being trained by the new system in order to gradually become new, socialist men and women, fully developed men and women who possess the ability to be the masters of society, the masters of nature, the masters of themselves and even the masters in building the country and defending the fatherland.

This strength is the highly organized strength of all the people, a strength that is scientifically mobilized and organized in accordance with the political line and military line of the party, a strength based on the superior socialist system, the system of collective ownership. Our national defense system is, in the fullest sense, a national defense system of, by and for the people, consequently, its strength is new, extremely large and constantly growing.

Ours is a complete national defense system. It is based on the complete strength of our country, the complete political-moral, economic, scientific, cultural, social and military strengths of the socialist system now being built in our country, not simply on military strength.

Only by having a complete national defense system is it possible to meet the large and varied requirements involved in the defense of the fatherland, the requirements of both the frontlines and the rear area, of both combat and the buildup of forces, of both the armed forces and all the people participating in combat. This is also the prerequisite that must exist for our people to achieve a large combined strength in order to defeat each enemy.

The origin of the strength of our complete national defense system is the combined achievements of the entire socialist revolution, of the three revolutions, the aims of which are to build the new system, the new economy and the new culture and mold the new socialist man and woman in our country. Building the national defense system of all the people is the responsibility of the entire party, all the people and the entire armed forces, most importantly the sectors and levels of the proletarian dictatorship state.

In order to win victory over aggressor powers equipped with modern technology, our national defense system in the new era is a modern national defense system. It is a national defense system that has the ability to gradually but continuously strengthen and improve the military material-technical bases and equipment of the armed forces; has an increasingly modern and well coordinated

infrastructure suited to the operational requirements of a modern army, an infrastructure consisting of systems of air fields and seaports, communication-transportation systems, information and liaison systems...; has rear service support and technical support systems that are suited to the requirements of modern warfare; has systems of modern defense projects and equipment... Closely associated with modern technical equipment is the need to have a corps of technical cadres and personnel who are the masters of technology so that modern equipment can be maintained and utilized well on our country's battlefield.

The base of the modern national defense system is the achievements recorded in socialist industrialization--the central task throughout the period of transition to socialism--which is gradually being carried out in our country in the course of the socialist revolution with the cooperation and assistance of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, of friendly countries...

Our war to defend the fatherland is a war fought by all the people; therefore, we must use every weapon and piece of equipment we have, from the modern and relatively modern to the rudimentary, to kill the enemy.

Set against the international background of today, our people's national defense system is also a national defense system characterized by alliances. It is aligned, both strategically and tactically, with the armed forces and peoples of the two fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia on a common, single battlefield. It is strategically aligned with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. It is united within a broad front with nearby progressive countries that share a common enemy and with all revolutionary and progressive countries and movements throughout the world that support the just cause of our people against aggressor forces.

#### IV. Some Viewpoints That Guide Us in Our Work of Building and Strengthening the National Defense of All the People

To gain a thorough understanding of the political line and the military line of the party, on the basis of the special characteristics of our country's situation, of the objectives, the character and the nature of our national defense system as described above and in order to properly perform the task of building and strengthening the national defense system in the new era, we must grasp in their entirety the following major viewpoints that guide us:

##### 1. The viewpoint concerning the exercise of socialist collective ownership.

Collective ownership is the overriding goal of socialist construction; at the same time, it is the basic moving force behind the entire socialist revolution of our people. Socialist collective ownership is also the source of the invincible strength of the national defense of all the people. The 4th Congress of the Party defined the basic elements of the system of socialist collective ownership in our country within the political, economic, cultural and other fields. This fundamental view must also be thoroughly understood within the field of military affairs and raised as the issue of being the masters of military affairs.

Being the masters of military affairs is one expression of being the masters of political affairs. As the 4th Party Congress pointed out: "Being the collective masters of political affairs means that we must firmly defend socialism in conjunction with building socialism."(10) Our mastery of military affairs must be firmly based on mastery of politics, the economy and culture, must be marked by the proper implementation of the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise ownership, the state manages."

Being the masters of military affairs is expressed primarily by means of the following:

--Each civilian and soldier having a thorough understanding of his obligation and right to defend the fatherland and fulfilling each military obligation in a conscious and voluntary way: "When the fatherland is endangered, the entire citizenry of Vietnam arises to defend it," "determined to preserve their freedom and independence with the full measure of their spirit and forces, with their lives and property."(11)

--Exercising mastery throughout the country, within each locality and at each installation: being the masters of the land, skies, sea and continental shelf. To exercise mastery, each level must be thoroughly familiar with every aspect of the local situation, such as seasonal changes in the weather, geographical advantages, popular sentiment...and must know all that there is to know about the enemy and ourselves militarily, politically, economically, culturally...

Being the masters of forces, which includes personnel and technical equipment, thinking and organization; knowing how to mobilize, organize and build people's armed forces that consist of strong arms of the military, that are the nucleus in the fight by all the people against the enemy, in conjunction with building powerful reserve forces and raising to a new level of development the nation's military tradition: "the entire country fights the enemy, all the people are soldiers"; building rear service and technical support bases and building the rear area in line with the viewpoint of a people's war to defend the fatherland; being the master of forces and creating the largest possible combined strength in order to fight the enemy from an offensive position, from a position of strength so that we win victory and become stronger with each battle.

--Being the masters of battlefield position: this entails knowing how to avail ourselves of the advantages afforded by the terrain, weather and climate; how to make full use of each strength of the people's war, of a just war fought against the enemy right here in our own country; and how to skillfully deploy and utilize each force at our disposal in order to create a battlefield position that gives us control, create an advantageous, solid and effective defensive position based on the military art of the people's war. It also entails insuring that we always fight the enemy from an advantageous position, a position from which we can take the initiative, can take the offensive in every war situation. Being the masters of battlefield position also encompasses the art of utilizing and building upon our existing positions, destroying the battlefield position of the enemy and creating a new and advantageous position for ourselves in the course of the war.

--Being the masters of military science, military art and military science-technology: this involves having a clear understanding of the laws of operation of the enemy, of those matters that are in the nature of a law of the people's war and armed struggle in our war to defend the socialist fatherland. It entails being well versed in the art of organizing and conducting strategic and campaign operations and battles, creatively employing each of the many methods of fighting of the people's war and raising the nation's art of fighting invaders to a new level of development. It entails making proficient and creative use of each weapon and piece of equipment, from the modern to the rudimentary, in order to win victory and complete tasks well.

--Being the masters of the situation: this entails always seizing the initiative, seizing opportunities and knowing the enemy and ourselves. It entails accurately predicting the various situations that will develop during the war and in combat, adopting appropriate combat contingency plans and preparing all the conditions needed to successfully implement these plans. It entails being brave, steadfast, intelligent and creative in the face of every difficult situation, being determined to successfully complete each mission. Even if attacking enemy forces sweep through an area, the armed forces and people of that area must still firmly stand their ground, must retain control so that they can continuously build an offensive position behind enemy lines and closely coordinate with the fight on the main front.

Being the masters of military affairs must always go hand in hand with the thinking of taking the offensive. On the basis of being the masters of the locality, the battlefield and the country, we must be determined to take the initiative in attacking the enemy and consider taking the offensive to be the most basic and effective way to firmly maintain our mastery.

Achieving mastery and taking the offensive, taking the offensive and achieving mastery are the distinctive characteristics of the military tradition and art of the Vietnamese nation.

If each level, from the basic and local to the national, gains a thorough understanding of the elements described above and organizes their implementation well, we will succeed in creating the extremely large strength of the national defense system of all the people and the people's war to defend the fatherland, thereby successfully meeting a very important strategic requirement of the war to defend the fatherland: "achieving thorough mastery, strongly taking the offensive."

Back in the war of liberation, even within enemy occupied areas, where the control network set up by enemy forces was dense and conditions were exceedingly difficult, our armed forces and people in many localities still managed to achieve and firmly maintain their mastery and put into practice the slogan "don't budge an inch." Having achieved this mastery, they went on to continuously develop the offensive, expand their control and, at the same time, establish a springboard and a solid foothold for our main force troops to come in and attack the enemy when necessary.

Today, now that our fatherland is independent, our people are the masters of the entire country and we have the time to make preparations in advance as well as the conditions needed to take the initiative in establishing this mastery in a planned manner in accordance with the political and military lines of the party, we must, as pointed out by the party, establish thorough mastery so that we can strongly take the offensive.

## 2. The viewpoint concerning a combined strength.

The strength of our national defense system of all the people is the strength of national independence and socialism, is the combined strength of the political-moral, economic, scientific, cultural, social and military factors created in the process of carrying out the socialist revolution in our country. It is the strength of our nation combined with the strength of the alliance of the three countries of Indochina, the strength of our militant solidarity and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, with the offensive position of the three revolutionary currents in the world. It is the strength of the combination of the various forms of political struggle, military struggle, diplomatic struggle and struggle on the economic, ideological and cultural fronts that our party is employing in the task of defending the fatherland today and will employ in a large-scale war to defend the fatherland, should one occur. It is also the strength of combining each means and piece of equipment of the country that is mobilized to fight the enemy.

The base of this strength is the system of socialist collective ownership, is the results of successfully implementing the general line on the socialist revolution and the line on building the socialist economy within our country, of the correct domestic and foreign policies of the party and state.

Therefore, the most basic factors in increasing the combined strength of the national defense system of all the people are the needs for our people to continue to brandish the banners of national independence and socialism, firmly maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat, uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people and simultaneously carry out the three revolutions nationwide and within each locality so that socialist construction yields practical, comprehensive results in every situation. We must also carry out the foreign policy of the party well in order to constantly strengthen the solidarity and alliance of the three countries of Indochina, strengthen our strategic alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, achieve unity with each force for revolution, progress and peace in the world and highly isolate the enemy.

However, building a strong country does not automatically provide us with a strong national defense system because the requirements of the national defense system and war differ from the requirements of the economy. The strength of the national defense system of any country when a war is not in progress (that is, in peace time) or when the country is engaged in a war that is not yet large scale (as is the case with our country today) consists of two components: standing forces that maintain combat readiness and fight to defend the fatherland and the potentials that lie within the various strengths of the country. Standing forces must meet every need required of them. These

potentials must be organized, built and prepared for mobilization under a long-range, thorough plan in the process of building the country so that they can be promptly mobilized when the situation demands and enable us to meet the requirements of the war. Therefore, we must closely combine building the country with preparing to defend the fatherland.

We must endeavor to successfully meet one very basic strategic requirement of the party in this era of building and defending the socialist fatherland: closely combining the labor obligation with the obligation to defend the fatherland. Every citizen has a labor obligation and an obligation to defend the fatherland. All the people participate in productive labor, all the people defend the fatherland. The entire armed forces defends the fatherland, the entire armed forces participates in productive labor. The entire country, each locality and each basic unit is a worksite in socialist construction and a battle position ready to win victory over every enemy.

3. Closely combining socialist construction with the defense of the fatherland, closely combining the economy with the national defense system, the national defense system with the economy, national defense with the maintenance of security in the building and strengthening of the national defense system.

This is the view that guides us in our effort to build and strengthen the national defense system.

To build its national defense system, every socialist country must combine its economy with national defense. However, due to the three major characteristics of our country described above, combining the economy with national defense is a matter of special importance to us, the aim of which is to make both our country's economy and national defense system strong in every situation.

The requirement we face is that we must, while performing the foremost tasks of building socialism, developing the economy and improving the living conditions of the people, still have national defense forces that are strong enough to defeat each type and scale of war launched by the enemy. Each stage of development in socialist construction and economic construction must create additional capabilities for defending the fatherland and strengthening the national defense system. Conversely, each increase in the strength of the national defense system must provide better security for building the country and developing the economy, thereby constantly making the country stronger in both areas: building and defending the fatherland, the economy and national defense.

To achieve this objective, it is necessary to perform the following number of important jobs well:

We must continue to give the entire party, all the people and the entire armed forces a truly correct understanding of our country's situation and a deep understanding of the two strategic tasks and the close relationship between these two tasks as reflected in the spirit of the resolution of the 5th Party Congress: attaching foremost importance to the task of building socialism



while not relaxing our efforts to strengthen the national defense system and defend the fatherland for one moment. This being our thinking, we must cultivate within each citizen, each cadre and soldier of the armed forces, each social organization and each level and sector of the state apparatus the consciousness of always taking the initiative in combining, in a way that is well coordinated, creative and effective, the two strategic tasks, the economy with national defense in each activity.

There are some wrong ways of thinking and acting that must be corrected, such as: placing emphasis upon the economy but giving light attention to national defense or vice versa, which result in the two strategic tasks, in the economy and national defense being separated from and viewed as the opposite of each other; underestimating the schemes and tricks of the enemy, which easily gives rise to lax vigilance, light attention to national defense and the failure to fully see our responsibilities regarding the difficult, bitter fight being waged by our soldiers and fellow countrymen on the northern border as well as on the battlefields of friendly countries; considering national defense to be purely military work, to be the particular responsibility of military organizations and the armed forces...

We must build standing armed forces that are strong enough, both in terms of their quality and size, to meet the requirements of combat, combat readiness, production and economic construction in conjunction with building powerful reserve forces that are well organized, well trained, well managed and ready to be quickly mobilized. At present, our armed forces must, together with all the people, defeat the war of encroachment and occupation along the border and the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the enemy and successfully fulfill their international duty in Laos and Cambodia. At the same time, we must be ready to promptly expand these forces to deal with a large-scale war of aggression and be able to take the initiative in each situation.

We must build up and firmly strengthen the national defense lines, beginning with the frontlines on the key fronts. It must be understood that within the context of the enemy waging a war of encroachment and occupation along the border and a wide-ranging war of sabotage while being anxious to commit large-scale aggression against our country, this is the prerequisite that must exist in order to provide the security needed for the entire country to focus its efforts on our foremost task of building socialism. Security and national defense must be closely combined. The more firmly the borders are defended, the better political security is maintained for the country and the more stable social order and safety are, the greater our people's peace of mind will be and the more enthusiastically and competently they will accelerate production, accelerate socialist construction.

We must mobilize and organize all the people and make use of the time that we have to intensify socialist construction and make the country strong in every respect and situation, beginning by bringing about a strong change in the economy in accordance with the line and targets set by the party. This is the base, the foundation of the strength of the national defense system.

On this basis, we must closely combine the economy with national defense, national defense with the economy in the process of building the country.

The purposes of combining the economy with national defense are to achieve a new economic and national defense strategic deployment throughout the country and within each locality; building increasingly large potentials for the defense of the nation in all fields: political-moral, economic, cultural, social, scientific-technical and military; and adopting plans that prepare us for quickly mobilizing our potentials in every field so that we can meet the needs of a large-scale war to defend the fatherland when one breaks out and continue to build the economy in war time.

In the present situation and tasks of the revolution, the economy must give attention to promptly and fully meeting the combat and buildup needs of the armed forces and the people on the frontline and the forces performing their international duty in Laos and Cambodia and actively contribute to gradually building the national defense industry.

From the standpoint of combining national defense with the economy, attention must be given to the following several matters of major importance:

The armed forces must successfully perform their foremost political task of fighting and maintaining their readiness to fight, along with all the people, to defeat each scheme of sabotage and aggression of the enemy, firmly defend the fatherland and provide the security needed for the country to accelerate socialist construction. Frugality must be emphasized in every national defense activity, every national defense expenditure. We must concern ourselves with building increasingly powerful reserve forces of the people's army with the aim of establishing balance between standing forces and reserve forces and establish solid conditions that enable us to adjust the troop strength of standing forces to suit each specific strategic situation.

We must organize the participation by the army in economic construction in suitable ways that yield high productivity, quality and efficiency with the aim of helping to build the material-technical bases of socialism, build the socialist economy. Participating in economic construction and productive labor are a long-range strategic task that is part of the character and function of the people's army. This task assumes even greater importance in view of the fact that our country must maintain standing forces of sufficient strength to enable us to take the initiative in dealing with every situation and the fact that our economy still faces many difficulties. The army must help to build a rear area that is solid and strong in every respect and take positive steps to help bring about changes in political, economic, cultural and social life and the maintenance of security, especially in the mountainous forests and new economic zones that are of important significance from a national defense standpoint.

4. The viewpoint concerning displaying a high degree of self-reliance in conjunction with making effective use of international assistance and cooperation.

Above everything else, our people must display a high sense of self-reliance. This is an essential requirement that faces each independent and socialist country. Because, the national defense system of a nation is only considered to truly be solid and strong when it is firmly based on the comprehensive

strength, the economic strength of that country. Our country occupies a very important strategic position in Southeast Asia, plays a major political role in international life, has a relatively large population and possesses strong armed forces. In addition, our country lies adjacent to the Chinese expansionist and hegemonist powers. Our people also have an international obligation within the strategic and tactical alliance of the three countries of Indochina and in their task of defending and developing the role of the outpost of the socialist community in Southeast Asia. All of these situations demand that we display even greater self-reliance in building and strengthening the national defense system.

Of utmost importance in thoroughly practicing self-reliance is the need for our people to display a high spirit of independence. We must rely firmly upon the lines and viewpoints of our party, upon the experiences in the nature of military laws of our nation as well as upon the specific conditions of our country, history, people, enemy and so forth in order to correctly resolve our questions concerning military theory and practice. One of the major lessons learned by our party and people during the 20 years of the resistance against the United States is the need to firmly maintain our independence. "We were victorious mainly because our party maintained its independence when it came to setting the line on the revolution and the line on the people's war and gradually learned the laws of revolutionary war in order to creatively guide the resistance for national salvation." (12) Of course, when resolving current military questions, we must attach importance to studying the wealth of advanced experiences of the Soviet Union, particularly with regard to standardization and the art of fighting in modern warfare. We must also give attention to selectively incorporating the experiences of the other fraternal socialist countries and the world. However, as we study these matters, attention must be given to grasping the essence of the matter at hand and we must know how to apply what we learn to the specific conditions of our country and successfully resolve military questions in exact accordance with the military line and viewpoints of the party. We do not endorse the practice of studying and applying something precisely as it is applied elsewhere nor do we endorse conservatism or empiricism.

Displaying a high degree of self-reliance means that we must continue to make every effort to build our country's national defense industry so that we can gradually begin producing and supplying the equipment and weapons necessary for the armed forces. This is a new and very high requirement that faces our national defense system in the era of independence and socialism. And, the gains that we make in socialist industrialization will provide us with the conditions needed to gradually perform this task. This will clearly be a very difficult and costly task. However, it is a matter that relates to the independence of our country, to the survival of our nation and the other countries on the Indochina peninsula, to the strength and stability of the world socialist system in Southeast Asia and Asia-the Pacific. Therefore, our people absolutely must overcome the difficulties they face in order to meet this requirement. Only in this way can we seize the strategic initiative in each situation. We have only begun to place behind us the "situation" of having to rely upon assistance from friendly countries for everything from

maintenance and repair work to spare parts for weapons and equipment. We must gradually reduce the costs and difficulties borne by friendly countries as a result of having to transport goods long distances to help us.

Building a modern national defense industry that is structured in a rational way and well suited to the need to defend the fatherland of a country with the stature of our country is both a pressing and long-range task that must be performed gradually in the process of industrializing the country. On the one hand, we must firmly rely upon the development of our country's modern industry and economy; on the other hand, we must rely upon the assistance and cooperation of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries in order to continue to improve and strengthen the necessary modern material-technical bases with the aim of increasing the production capacity of our national defense industry. While taking positive steps to build our national defense industry on our own, we must still rely primarily upon the assistance of the Soviet Union so that we can continue to constantly raise the level of modernization of our army and national defense system and upon international cooperation with other countries.

5. The viewpoint that the three countries of Indochina are a single battlefield.

The experience of our people in the long revolutionary struggle and revolutionary war shows that all invaders of the countries of Indochina, from the French, the Japanese and the Americans to the Chinese expansionists, have considered Indochina to be a single battlefield and used the territory of one country as a springboard from which to annex another country. As for themselves, to defeat invaders, the three countries of Indochina have had to closely unite and align with one another in the fight against the common enemy in order to win victory. No country could have won nor can any country maintain its independence on its own. Consequently, Indochina is a single battlefield and the close alliance in combat among the three countries of Indochina has become the law by which each country and all three countries win victory.

Today, all three countries have won their independence and all three are advancing to socialism. The three stable, strong and closely aligned countries of Indochina have become the outpost of the world socialist system in Southeast Asia, become an important factory guaranteeing national independence, peace and stability in Southeast Asia. The three countries also face a new, common enemy and must contend together with the schemes of sabotage, aggression and annexation of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists acting in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and lackey reactionary powers. As a result, solidifying and developing the special fighting alliance that exists among the three countries of Indochina is a matter of even greater importance and urgency in firmly defending independence and freedom and successfully building socialism within each country and all three countries.

Today, the character of this alliance is new: it is a socialist alliance, a strategic and tactical alliance within a battlefield deployment that stretches from one end of Indochina to the other, within an Indochina that is a single

battlefield. We have achieved unity and full-scale cooperation in the fields of politics, the economy, military affairs, science and culture on the basis of total equality and mutual assistance and in the spirit of comradeship among sovereign countries. In this spirit and in order to defeat the schemes of sabotage and annexation of the enemy, every matter relating to military strategy, from the battlefield deployment, the buildup of forces, the building of the rear area...of each country and all three countries must be examined and carried out in accordance with the view that Indochina is a single battlefield.

To reflect a thorough understanding of and creatively apply the above mentioned views that guide us, our national defense system of all the people must direct its efforts toward preparing, in the best possible manner, the conditions needed to win victory in people's wars to defend the socialist fatherland that our people will have to fight when the enemy recklessly launches a large or relatively large-scale war of aggression against our country and the other countries of Indochina. Our war to defend the socialist fatherland today is a just, revolutionary war of self-defense, a full-scale, modern war fought by all the people in alliance with other forces, a war in which we build the greatest possible combined strength in order to win victory over the enemy. It is a war in which we hit the enemy hard at the very outset and on the frontline and then fight on a long-range basis at every place to which enemy forces move. It is a war in which all the people fight the enemy, a war of which the people's armed forces are the nucleus. It is a war in which we combine the local people's war and the war fought by the main force military corps, combine all arms of the military. It is a war in which we creatively implement the strategy of seizing control and taking the offensive, taking the offensive and seizing control. It is a war in which we combine the local people's war and the war fought by the main force military corps, combine many forms and scales of warfare, creatively apply the many diverse and flexible fighting methods of the people's war to defend the fatherland... It is a war of resistance in which we accelerate production and continue to build socialism in a way suited to war time.

With a thorough understanding of the above mentioned views that guide us and with the aim of supporting, in the best possible manner, the political task, the military task and the economic task set by the 5th Party Congress, the work of strengthening the national defense system in the years ahead must be directed toward achieving a number of specific requirements based on its long-range objectives and guidelines, such as the following:

1. We must mobilize the combined strength of the entire party, all the people and the entire armed forces and be determined to defeat the enemy's war of encroachment and occupation along the border and their wide-ranging war of sabotage. At the same time, every effort must be made to virtually complete the work of preparing ourselves to fight, preparing ourselves to defeat a war of aggression of any scale that the Chinese expansionists might launch in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. We must firmly defend the borders and territory, the offshore waters and air space of the fatherland. We must protect our people as they labor to build socialism and must win even larger

victories in the cause of defending the fatherland, thereby insuring that the building of the country is accelerated under circumstances that are increasingly stable.

2. We must continuously improve the country's defenses, beginning by making the defenses on the frontlines increasingly reliable.

We must continue to establish a new deployment of the national defense system and the economy within each locality and throughout the country in accordance with the coordinated economic and national defense strategy of the party and state for the period between now and the end of this century.

We must successfully complete the plans for infrastructure projects (roads, air fields, seaports, storehouses...) to support the combat operations on the people's army on the pre-determined key fronts.

3. We must continue to accelerate the buildup of the people's armed forces, including main force troops, border defense troops, local forces and militia and self-defense forces, in a manner that is well balanced. We must be a regular, modern people's army that is of high quality complete and well coordinated. We must build strong and widespread militia and self-defense forces and insure that they are politically reliable. We must strongly develop our reserve forces and take positive steps to establish a rational balance between standing forces and reserve forces.

4. By relying firmly upon the gains made in socialist construction and in the work of closely combining the economy with national defense, we must increase the political-moral, economic, scientific, military and other potentials of the national defense system accordingly; at the same time, we must virtually complete the plans for mobilizing the country and preparing ourselves to deal with a large-scale war of aggression launched by the enemy.

We must mobilize the strengths of the economy and actively begin the work of building our country's national defense industry in accordance with the plan that has been adopted.

5. We must strengthen the strategic and tactical alliance among Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and make this special alliance among our three countries increasingly solid. We must actively assist and coordinate in combat with these friendly countries to defeat each scheme of sabotage and aggression of the enemy, thereby helping to firmly defend the independence, sovereignty and revolutionary gains of these two fraternal countries. We must continue to move the revolutions of all three countries forward together under circumstances that are increasingly stable and must firmly safeguard peace. We must contribute to the eventual establishment of neighborly relations, of cooperative relations with the ASEAN countries and thereby turn Southeast Asia into a region of peace, friendship and stability.

6. We must strengthen our unity and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union. On the basis of displaying a high degree of self-reliance, we must make the most effective use possible of the assistance and cooperation of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries in building the

country, strengthening the national defense system and building the national defense industry. We must create permanent conditions for the modernization of the army, for the development of strategic reserves of weapons, equipment and technology for our country, thereby helping to increase the strength of the three countries of Indochina, of the world socialist system in Southeast Asia.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 39.
2. Ibid., pp 58-59.
3. The Proceedings of the 5th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, p 42.
4. Ibid.
5. Address by President Ho Chi Minh to the cadres and soldiers of the 308th Division at the Temple of the Hung Kings prior to the unit's departure for the capital Hanoi in October, 1954.
6. Words spoken by President Ho Chi Minh to a naval unit in March 1961 during a visit by him to the Dau Go Cave, where, according to historians, the forces of Tran Hung Dao made the stakes that they implanted in the Bach Dang River in ancient times to fight the Minh and Yuan invaders.
7. Lenin: "On Defending the Socialist Fatherland," Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1975, p 21.
8. Ibid, p 30.
9. Ibid., p 57.
10. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 53.
11. Ho Chi Minh: "On Military Affairs," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1975, pp 69 and 48.
12. Le Duan: "Letters to the South," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1985, p 252.

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